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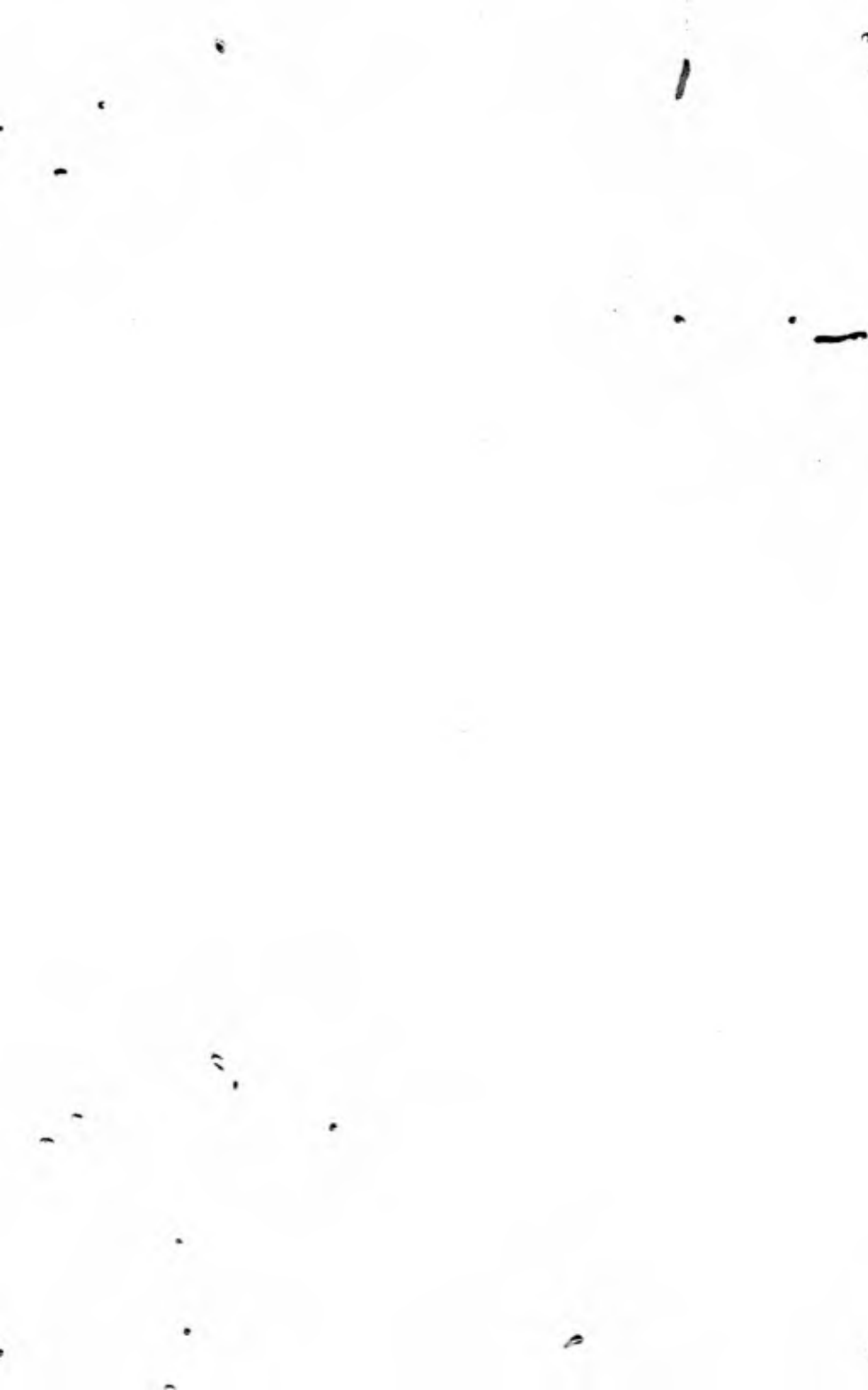
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THE LANGUAGE OF  
THE KHAROṢṬHI DOCUMENTS  
FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN

by

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## INTRODUCTION

The documents in the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet, recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from Central Asia, are written in a variety of Indian Prakrit that was used as the administrative language of Shan-Shan or Kroraina in the third century A.D. The texts range over a period of at least eighty-eight years, as is seen from Prof. Rapson's Table of Kings and Regnal Years, *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, pp. 326-8. The date is approximately fixed by a Chinese document, found in the same heap with a number of Kharoṣṭhi tablets, which is dated A.D. 269. Further than this it is not possible to go yet, because none of the kings has been found referred to in Chinese annals. The language of the documents is uniform throughout and there is no trace of evolution from the earliest to the latest.

The bulk of the texts comes from Niya, the ancient Caḍota which lay on the extreme edge of the kingdom bordering on Khotan. For the rest there are a few from Endere (= Sāca) and about forty from the Lou-Lan area where the ancient capital of the kingdom Kroraina was situated. A single document from Endere (661) is written in a different dialect from the rest, and since it refers to a king of Khotan, it may be taken to represent the Prakrit used similarly for administrative purposes in Khotan at that time. (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 430-34.)

For a variety of reasons the language has presented considerable difficulties of interpretation. In the first place it represents a variety of Prakrit not otherwise known; and secondly it contains a large number of non-Indian words from various sources. The general position of the language has already been dealt with in a series of articles ('Iranian Loan-words in the Kharoṣṭhi Documents', I, *B.S.O.S.* VII (1934), 511 ff.; II, *B.S.O.S.* VII (1935), 779 ff.; 'Tocharian Elements in Kharoṣṭhi Documents', *J.R.A.S.* (1935), pp. 667 ff.; and 'The Dialectical Position of the Niya Prakrit', *B.S.O.S.* VIII (1936), 419 ff.). Referring to the full discussions in these papers, it will be sufficient here to indicate the main conclusions arrived at.

The language was used for official purposes in the Shan-Shan kingdom. Its original home was N.W. India, probably in the region of Peshawar. It agrees closely with the (post-Aśokan) Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions from N.W. India and (slightly less closely) with the Prakrit version of the Dhammapada. Further, it exhibits sufficient characteristics in common with the modern Dardic languages to be assigned definitely to that group (*B.S.O.S.* VIII (1936), 434 and Konow, *ib.* 605 ff.). Among the Dardic languages it would seem to be most closely allied to Torwali.

At the same time it differs from all other varieties of Prakrit preserved, in the degree to which its inflectional system has decayed and altered. There is no reason to impute this to the users of the language in Central Asia, because with them it was a stereotyped official language, whereas the phenomena observed are those of normal linguistic change. Moreover, the changes are actually found to occur over the rest of the Indo-Aryan field at a later date. For instance, they have ceased to distinguish between Nominative and Accusative. This became general in Indo-Aryan in the Apabhraṃśa stage. Other phenomena which occur (though less thoroughly) in Apabhraṃśa are the tendency to transfer all nouns to the *a*-declension (§§ 67, 70), extension of *-ī* as the general termination of feminine nouns (§ 74, cf. forms in Ap. (*Bhavisatta-kaha*) like *sampunnī*, *avainnī*, *khittī*, etc.), use of the Locative instead of the Accusative with verbs of going, sending, etc. (§ 123, cf. L. Alsdorff, *Kumārapālāprati-bodha*, Introd. § 43 (1) b).

Especially interesting is the formation of a new active past tense from the past participle passive (§ 105). This has not developed even in Apabhraṃśa, but is common in the modern Indo-Aryan languages (cf. J. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 276). There is a precisely similar development in Modern Persian.

The question arises whether these tendencies to evolution developed unusually early in the home of this Prakrit (due to foreign invasion, influence), or whether they may not have been more general in India only obscured by the conservative tendencies of the literary Prakrits. We might ask, for instance, that since the Prakrit used by Kālidāsa remained the same for

centuries after his time, to what extent may it not have been artificial and archaic even then? Anyway it is curious that our language, while usually the most conservative in phonetic preservation (*B.S.O.S.* VIII (1936), 422), is at the same time the most advanced of all in inflectional decay.

The dialect that had thus evolved in India is subjected to two kinds of foreign influence: (1) Iranian, (2) the native language of Kroraina.

The Iranian loan-words have been dealt with in my two papers (*B.S.O.S.* VII, 509 ff., 779 ff.). Further examples (discussed in Index) are *anada* 'carefully', *cojhbo* (name of an official), *namamniya*, *parāša*, *vega* *suṇakirta*. They total together some forty or forty-three words, which is quite considerable.

As regards the origin of these Iranian words, there is no reason to assume that they entered the language at the same time and from the same place. In the case of the word meaning 'treasury', for instance, we have two dialect forms *gañja-* (cf. *gañña* and *kañi*) and *ganza-* (cf. *kañjhavaliyana*). A very few words are specifically Saka, namely *anada*, *prahoni*, *lastana*. The title *cojhbo* appears in the Maralbashi dialect of Saka as *cazba*. *jheniḡa* is peculiar to Saka and Sogdian, although the same base appears in N.Pers. *zīn-hār* 'protection, security' and *zindān* 'prison'. If *draṅga* is connected with Avestan *θraxta-*, etc., it shows the typically Saka treatment of *θr-*. *avāna* 'village' occurs in both of the Saka dialects (having lost its initial *a-*), but also in Western Iranian, Arm. *avan*.

On the other hand, the mass of the words might equally well appear in a typically Western Iranian language, e.g. *kākhorda*, *gušura*, *divira*, *načira*, *tavastaḡa*, *spura*, *veḡa*, *ṣada*, *stora*. Many of them have not, so far at any rate, turned up in Khotanese. *ṣada* 'pleased' definitely cannot be Kh. (*tsāta*), and *gušura* shows a treatment that is not Khotanese but typical of the eastern part of Iranian. There is some reason to believe that a large number of the words at any rate had been taken into the Prakrit in N.W. India before it came to be used in Central Asia.

(1) Quite a number of the Iranian loan-words here appear also in India in Sanskrit, etc., namely, *sthora*, *gañja*, (*asva*)*vāra*, *divira*, *draṅga*, *kākhorda*. *saste* 'day' occurs in Kharoṣṭhi in-

scriptions from N.W. India; *namataka* 'felt' is used in Pali. In the case of these words we may be pretty sure that they had become part of the language in India itself.

(2) There are traces of the phonetic developments that occur in the languages of specifically those Iranians who occupied N.W. India in the centuries round about the Christian era. *Gusura* shows the same treatment of initial *vi-* as occurs in the proper name *Gudaphara* (Gondophernes). The change of *d > l* in *laṣṇi* 'gift' is paralleled by royal names in India beginning with *spala-* (= *spāda* 'army'). The same change is observable in *Pushto*, and may have been characteristic of the Iranian-speaking population bordering on N.W. India at quite an early date.

(3) Iranian proper names in the Kharoṣṭhi documents (*B.S.O.S.* VII, 789) are exceedingly rare, so that certainly there was no Iranian population in this kingdom. The solitary Khotan document (661) indicates a different state of affairs for Khotan, but there is no means of ascertaining its relative date. The differences between the two varieties of Prakrit are such that each must have its origin separately in India and not one depend on the other (cf. *B.S.O.S.* VIII (1936), 430 ff.).

We may conclude that the Prakrit already in India had a fair sprinkling of Iranian words, and that in Central Asia a smaller number (*cojhbo*, etc. above) were further introduced.

The second foreign element to which the Prakrit was subjected is the native language of the kingdom. It is represented by a wealth of proper names (over 1000) and about 100 words. Working on the phonetic structure and suffix formation of this material it is possible to demonstrate a strong affinity of this language with 'Tocharian' (Agnean and Kuchean, cf. H. W. Bailey, *B.S.O.S.* VIII (1936), 883-917). This point I have dealt with in detail in *J.R.A.S.* (1935), pp. 667 ff. We may term the language 'Krorainic' after the capital of the kingdom.

The pronunciation of the Prakrit was strongly affected by the phonetic structure of 'Krorainic'. It was devoid of voiced stops, consequently we find writings like *kilane* = *glāna* 'sick', *taṇḍa* = *daṇḍa*, *poḡa* = *bhoḡa*, etc. (§ 14). Similarly it was devoid of aspirates with like effects (§ 24). The solitary document from

Khotan does not show these tendencies, whence we may infer that the language there was of a different type.

Actual word-correspondences in the documents with Agnean and Kucheana are unfortunately few. Among the most certain are:

*kilme* 'district' = Agnean *kālyme* 'direction, district'.

*kitsaitsa*, a title (elder?) = Kucheana *kitsaitsaṇe* 'age'.

*ṣoṭhaṃga* 'tax-collector': Agnean *ṣoṣṭāṅk-*, meaning the same.

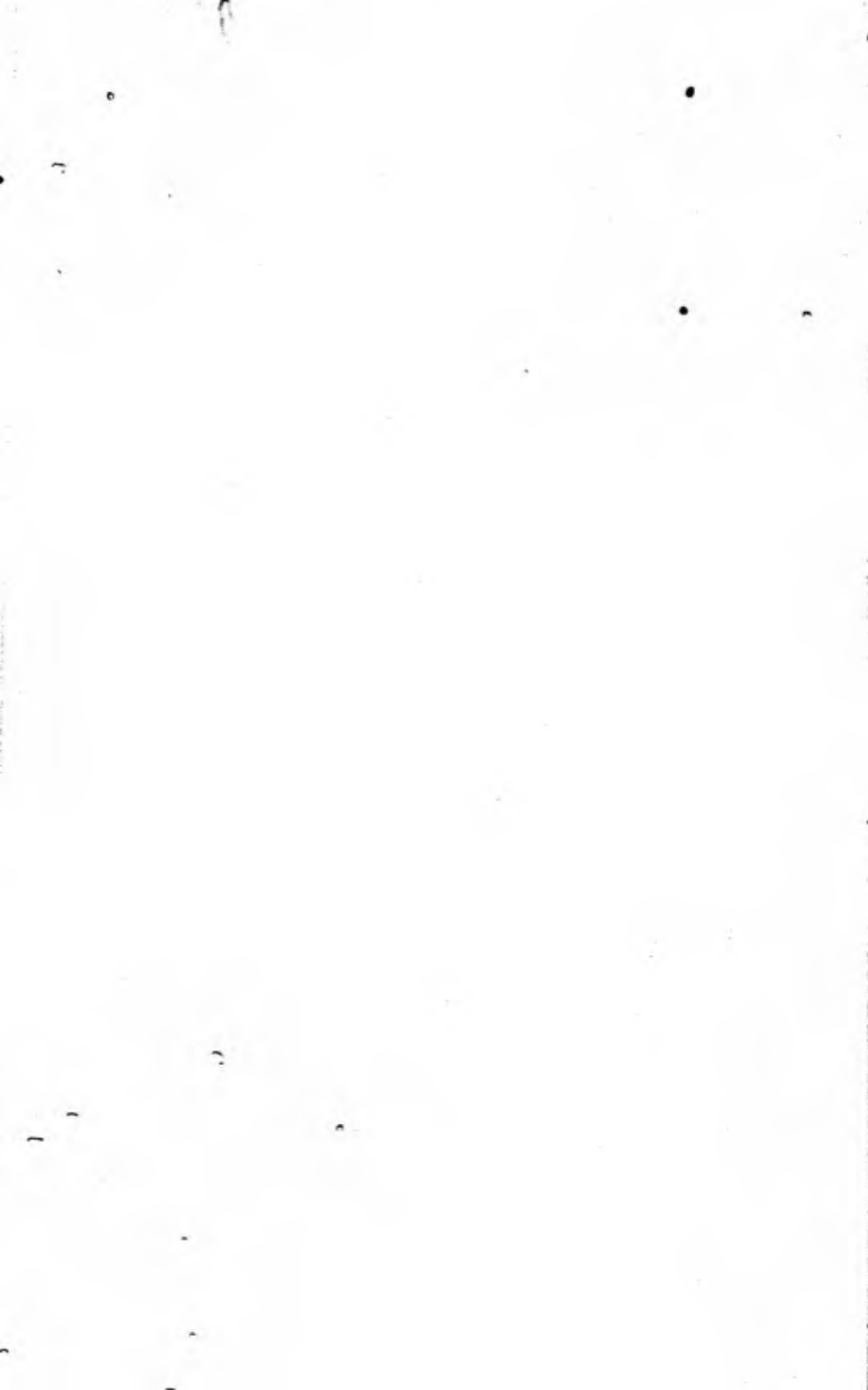
*amklatsa*, epithet of *uṭa* 'camel': Kucheana *aknātse*, Agnean *āknats* 'ignorant', 'inexperienced'.

*ṣilpoḡa* (i.e. *ṣilyoḡa*) 'document': Agnean *ṣlyok* which translates Skt. *śloka*.

Considering the strong evidence (*J.R.A.S.* (1935), pp. 667 ff.) that Krorainic was a language closely akin to Agnean and Kucheana, it is surprising that there are so few obvious etymologies, but it may be due to difference of subject-matter: the texts in those languages are chiefly religious, whereas the Krorainic words in the Prakrit are mostly of a technical nature (official titles, crops and objects of local use, etc.).

Such briefly are the relationships and history of the language of the Niya documents. The present work is divided into two parts: first, a Grammar of the language; and secondly, a combined Index and Vocabulary, where the forms are referred to the paragraphs of the Grammar so far as they are treated there, while an attempt is made as far as possible to explain the meaning of individual words, with references to the existing literature.





# Part I

## GRAMMAR

### VOWELS

§ 1. There is a slight tendency in the documents for *e* to become *i*: *ajiṣaṃnae* 419 (usually *ajeṣaṃnae* = *adhyeṣanayā* 'at the request of'), *ichiyati* 425 (usually *-eyati*), *čhitra* = *kṣetra* 160, 255, etc.; *vitamṇa* 177 = *vetamṇā*, but the reading is uncertain. Finally: *niči* = *niče* 'decision', *vaṃti* 'in the presence of' = *upāṃte*, *kiṃna* = *kena* 609, *tina* 532 (*tiṣu* 511). The change was regular in the dialect of Khotan: 661 *saḡaji* = *sakāṣe*, *niravaṣiṣo*, *kali*, *cudiyadi* = *codeyāti*, etc. But in the dialect of Niya the *e* is preserved in the vast majority of cases. In the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p. instances are common, e.g. *viraneṣu averana* C<sup>vo</sup> 28, *sarvi*, *uvito*, *etina*, etc. Likewise loan-words in Saka: *ajiṣ* 'to seek', *praciya-sambuddha-*, *cīya* = *caitya*. It seems to have been a specifically Khotanese change, which had already taken place at the date of no. 661; but it cannot have been very much earlier, because the Saka loan-word *jhenīga* always appears with *e* in the texts although *ī* in Saka *ysīniya*.

§ 2. The treatment of *o* is parallel to that of *i*. It is preserved in the documents with the sole exception of *kuṣava* 345 for usual *koṣava*. *rucate* 585 is probably to be compared with Pali, Pkt. *ruccati* rather than with Skt. *rocate*. *paribhuchamṇae* 579, 581 is probably for \**bhuñjanae*, rather than \**bhojanāya*, because the infinitive is usually formed from the present base. *cudiyadi* in 661 shows that the change was established in Khotan, as is later borne out in the Saka texts (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 20).

§ 3. *e* occasionally appears for short *i*: *garbheni* 593, *Jeṭugha* 591 (usually *Jiṭugha*), *pačemakalammi* 332 (*pačima* 165, etc.); *levistarena* 160 (usually *livistara* = *lipi-vistāra*) has probably been influenced by *lekha*.

§ 4. *o* is written for *u* frequently after *h* and *pr*: *baho*, *amaho*, *prahoḍa*, *laho*, *ahono*, *gohomi* side by side with *bahu*, *amahu*, etc., *prochidavo* and *pruchidavo*. In all these cases the difference between the signs for *o* and *u* is very small, and it is more likely that *u* should everywhere be read than that there was really a change from *u* to *o*.

§ 5. The regular treatment of the vowel *r* is *ri*, which is written *ri*, *r* and *rr*: *atripta* 390, *etrisa*, *krita*, *kriṣati*, *ghrida*, *grihasta*, *driṭha*, *triti*, *prichati*. It is written *r* in *rna*, *kṛta*, *grha*, *grṛheyati*, *dṛṭhati*, *rr* in *dṛṛthaḡa*, *tadṛṛṣa*. The *rr* is also used to represent *ri*, *rī* *aśṛta* 511, *Priyaśṛr*, *Kutaśṛrae*. After *p* we get *ru* in *pruch-* (*proch-*), though also *pricha*, *pariprichati*. Usually after labials the vowel *r* is written (probably=*ru*): *pṛchati*, *pṛtheṣu*, *mṛga*, *mṛda* 'dead', *mṛduka* (*mṛyati*=*mriyate*), *viṛdhi*, *vṛṇha*, *vṛdha*, *saṁṛdhae*, *pravṛti*. It appears as *i* in *kica*=*kṛtya*, *kiḍa*=*kṛta*, *kiṣamṇae* 'to plough', *giṁṇamṇi* 'they take', *siṁga-vera* 'ginger'. As *a* in *praḡata*=*prakṛta*, *anahetu*=*ṛnahetu* (unless *ana-*=*a-*, *an-* 'not'), *kaṭamṇi*. As *u* in *huḍi* 703=*bḥṛti* *prahuḍa*=*prābḥṛta*. A following dental is usually cerebralised when the *r* disappears: *praḡata*, *kiḍa*, *huḍi*. The rule seems to be that *r* is preserved, but a number of forms have crept in from other dialects without *r*. In the Dh.p. examples are found where the *r* becomes *r* and vowel: *vriḍha* C<sup>vo</sup> 34, *driḍha* C<sup>vo</sup> 17, *savruto*=*saṁvṛta*; but (as a result of its Prakrit original?) forms without *r* are more common: *diṭhi*, *kita*, *kica*, *alagito*=*alamṇṛta*, *akitaṇa*, *amutu*, *mucuno*, etc.

§ 6. *aya*=(1) *aya*: *svaya* 'self' 709, *vayaṁ* 663, 666, *ṣayati* 'gets hold of' (*śrayate*), *jayamṇa* 'victorious'.

(2) *eya*: *bheya* (*bheyidavya*), *veyaṁ*, *ubheya*, *treya*, *niṇeya*, *praceya* (*ṣeyita*), *jeyamṇasa*, *sampreṣeyati* 288.

(3) *e*: *anemṇi*, *niṇe*, *prace*, *tre*, *sve*=*svayam*. Almost always in causative verbs: *taḍeti*, *dhareti*, etc.

The forms in *-aya* are certainly due to the influence of Sanskrit. It is more difficult to judge of the relation of the *-eya* and *-e* forms. We find *praceya* by the side of *prace*, *niṇeya* and *niṇe*, *treya* and *tre*. It would seem that *-aya* everywhere regularly became *-e*, but that final *-e*=*-aya* was readapted to the declen-

sional system by the adding of *-a*. The process was applied also to native words and names ending in *-e*: *loteya* for *lote*, *Lpipeya* beside *Lpipe*, etc. Further, when the second *-a* formed part of a heavy syllable (e.g. *ṣayaṃta*, *ṣeyaṃta*) the disyllabic form was regularly preserved (never \**ṣenta*).

§ 7. *ava* becomes *o* in *vyochimnida*, *vyoṣeti*, *no* = '9', *omaḡa* = *gvama(ka)* 'falling short', *ohara*.

*ava* is preserved in *avasiṭha* 'remaining', *avakaṣa*, *avaṣa* 'certainly'.

*va* alternates with *o* in the non-Indian *ṣoṭhaṃga* (an official), also *ṣvaṭhaṃga*, and in the name of the king, *Aṃgoka* and *Aṃkvaga* (*Aṃgvaka*, *Aṃguvaka*, *Aṃgomka*).

§ 8. Final *-āya* > *-ae* in infinitives: *deyaṃnae* 'to give', etc. Also written *-aya*, *-aye*; *karaṃnaya*, *karaṃnaye*; the suffix *-aḡa* = *-aka* is treated in the same way: *ditae* 'given', *thavaṃnae* (*-aḡa*) 'cloth'; also *-aḡa*: *ditāḡa*, *dharaṃnaḡa*.

The change is much more common in past participles than in ordinary nouns and adjectives. (Here perhaps the original Nom. Sing. *-ake* (cf. § 53) might be responsible, cf. § 74.)

§ 9. Final *-ya* and *-iya* become *-i*: *muli* 'price', *eṣvari* 'ownership', *arogi* 'health'.

*-ya* is always preserved in *karya*. *Dhamapri* n.pr. = *Dharma-priya*. Then *-ya* comes to be written for *-i*: *ahumapya* 399 = *aham api*, *palpiya* 42 = *palpi* 'tax'. The treatment of gerundival forms is peculiar. Either the *-vya* is preserved or it becomes *-vo*: *dadavya* and *dadavo*. Both forms are found in about equal numbers, cf. §§ 53, 116.

§ 10. Svarabhakti occurs regularly between *r* and *h*: *garahati* 'complains', *arahaṃta* 'saint'. Also in *gilanaḡa* 'sick'.

An *i* is evolved before *stri* only in 231 *istriae*, but the regular form in the dialect is *stri* as in Sanskrit.

§ 11. A certain amount of vowel elision occurs in Sandhi: e.g. *ajuvadae* 'starting from to-day', *ceṣa* = *ca eṣa*, *emaceva* = *evam ca eva*, *ciṣa* = *ca iṣa*. That is to say in formulae that are regarded as one expression. For the rest hiatus is the rule: 324 *parihara oḡita aṃñeṣa*, etc.

§ 12. Final *-as* seems to have become *-e* as in the Mansehra version of Aśoka's edicts. It is preserved regularly in the ablative singular: *tade*, *Caḍḍade*, *goṭhade*, *śavathade*, etc. = *°ātas*. The nominative and accusative have been confused and the *-a* which serves for both is the accusative *-am*. Only *se* = *saḥ* preserves the old nominative ending. In addition we often find *u* (*o*) or *a* in adverbial forms in *-tas*: *itu*, *ito* = *itaḥ*, *agrata*, *agrata* = *°taḥ*, *punu*, *puno*, *puna* = *punar*, *pratu* = *prātar*, *yatu* 52 = *yataḥ*.

J. Bloch (*B.S.O.S.* vi, 292) points out a similar occurrence of the adverbial *tato* in the Kalsi (and Mansehra) version of Aśoka's edicts.

Both *e* and *o* seem to have been current in the North-West. In Aśoka Shahbazgarhi has *o*, Mansehra *e*. In the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions the *e* seems to predominate in the districts west of the Indus. The Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p. has *o* or *u* (or *a*) in the nominative, which may be due to its Prakrit original.

§ 13. The elision of vowels is not infrequent: *Butsena* = *Buddhaṣena*, *Yoksena* = *Yogaṣena*, *Ṣamnera* = *Śrāmanera*, *Samsemna* = *Śamaṣena*, *vastarna* = (*u*)*pastarana*, *muṣka* = *mūṣika* 565. Often in non-Indian names: *Yilika* and *Yilga*, *Ṭapika* and *Ṭapga*, *Mañḡeya* and *Mañḡeya*, etc. Finally: *cotaṃ* = *codaṃna* 425, *rotaṃ* 252, 272 = *rotaṃna*, *gamaṃ* 646 = *gamaṇa*, *śramaṃ* 250 = *śramaṇa*. It is worth while noticing that all these examples of the elision of final *a* come after *n*. Probably there was a general tendency to elide the final *a*, but except in the case of *-na* there was no temptation to express it in writing, since the *a*-vowel is not written and the *virāma* was not used in writing Prakrit. Only in the case of *-ana* was it convenient to write the shorter form by using the anusvāra under the preceding akṣara. No doubt *-aṃ* stands for *-an* as in Tocharian.

Final *-deva* in proper names seems to have been shortened to *\*-dev*, and then this has further developed into *-deyu*. Examples: *Upateyu*, *Jivadeyu*, *Baladeyu*, *Budhadeyu*.

# CONSONANTS

§ 14. **Unvoicing.** The native language of Shan-Shan lacked the voiced stops *g, j, d, b*, as is evident from a survey of the proper names. As a result of this they tended to unvoice the Prakrit *g, d*, etc., and the fact is sometimes reflected in the spelling, e.g. *kilane* 'ill', *yokačhema*, *civaračhi* 460, *chamlpita* = *jalpita* 113, *camnma* = *janma* 180, *saracidati* 648 = *sarajitamti* (usually), *canati* 590 = *janati*, *taṃṭa*, *taṇṭima*, *taṣavida*, *tita*, *tivajhi*, *tivira*, *tivya*, *tui* '2', *tura*, *toṣa*, *trakhma*, *tramgha*, *triṭha*, *tharidavo*, *utaḡa*, *satriṣa*, *mutra*, *prateja*, *coteyati*, *veteyati*, *Namtaṣena*, *poḡa* = *bhoga*.

Usually the forms are sporadic, the voiced forms being the usual ones, but in *palṭi* (i.e. *palī*), = *balī*, the *p* invariably occurs because that word had been adopted into the popular speech and was felt as a native word.

As will be seen the confusion is commonest with dentals. That is probably because the state of things in the Prakrit itself gave rise to confusion. The traditional writing of *dida* 'given' was *dita*, and so it was easy to write *t* in other positions, e.g. *tida*. In other cases a spirant, *ḡ, y, (s), w*, was produced and there was less tendency to confusion. Further, the *t* and *d* are often difficult to distinguish in writing.

§ 15. Another result of pronouncing *d*, etc. as *t*, etc. was to write *d*, etc. instead of *t*: *dusya*, *daha*, *dahi*, *dumahu*, *dena*, *danu*, *danuvaka*, *daḡṭita*, *dačhamna* 'carpenter', *jinida* = *ch* 580, *jhorida* = *chor*.

In native proper names: *Giraka* beside *Kiraka*, *Jimoya* beside *Cimoya*, *Jinaṣa* beside *Cinaṣa*, *Pideya* and *Piteya*, *Dhameca* and *Tameca*, *Boṣarsa* and *Poṣarsa*, *Buṃni* and *Puṃniyade*, *Parabulade* and *Parampulammi*.

It is worth while noticing that most of the Prakrit examples are pronominal forms, and possibly the voicing has some foundation in the Prakrit itself. As unaccented forms their initial would be liable to be treated as intervocalic *t*, i.e. become voiced; although here again it should perhaps be attributed to confusion of writing.

§ 16. Intervocalic consonants *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, *ś*, *s*, probably *ṣ*, become voiced, and *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, also *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *b* (?), further become spirants *ḡ*, *ṣ̣*, (*j*), *ḍ̣*, *v*.

*k*, *g*: *avaḡaḡa* = *avakāśa*, *praḡasita* = *prakāśita*, *aḡasita* 'carried off' from *ā* and *kas*; *pratiḡara*, *siḡata*, *yathagamaḡaraniya* 661 = *yathakāmakaraṇīya*, *aneḡa*, *bhaḡa*, etc.

The *k* is usually preserved in *eka*, which points to a double *k* as in Prakrit *ekka*. The pronunciation of this *ḡ* was very close to *y*, because they are occasionally confused.

*ḡ* is written for *y*: *aprameḡo*, frequently for *aprameyo(a)*; *kośalḡa*, for *kośalya*; *vyāḡa* = *vyaya* -.

*y* is written for *ḡ* in *aṃṇa yala* 431 = *aṃṇa kala*. The phrase has been treated as a compound. Also *viraya* = *virāḡa* 546, 622, *jheniya* 278 (usually *jheniḡa*) 'under the care of', *saṃvatsaraye* (= *-ake*) 186, 422.

The suffix *-aḡa* tends to become *-ae*, especially in past participles, *ditae* and *ditāga*, etc. Similarly *-uka* becomes *-uā* in *agamduā* 33. The guttural was weaker in the suffix than in other places. *-ika* = *-i*, cf. § 75.

*k* and *g* are often preserved in writing: *akasida*, *agata*, *nagara*, etc.

Noteworthy is the title *ogu*, which never appears with the spirant, although that is otherwise the rule not only in Indian but in native words: *Caḡu*, *Moḡata*, etc. It is perhaps *oggu* with double *g*.

The state of things in the Dh.p. is exactly the same, although the writing is less clear. Intervocalic *k* and *g* both appear as *k*: *urako*, etc.; but that *k* is confused with *y* just as *g* in the documents *udaka* B 13, C<sup>vo</sup> 18 = *udaya*, *dhoreka* C<sup>vo</sup> 37 = *dhoreya*, so that it is plain we are dealing with a spirant.

§ 17. *c* and *j*. In the Dh.p. intervocalic *c* and *j* invariably become *y*: *śoyati* = *śocati*, *goyari* = *gocare*, *vianato* = *vijanato*, *parvaitasa* = *pravrajitasya*. In the documents the treatment is not so regular. We find *y* for *j* in *maharaya* (always), *vaniye* 'merchants' 35. *ni* contracted out of *niya* = *nija* 'own', and in the literary pieces *oya* = *ojas* 501, *bhoyamṇa* = *bhojana* 501.

In addition both *c* and *j* are represented by *ś*, *j* (i.e. *ś*): *praśura* = *pracura*, *yajitaga* = *yācitaka*, *vajidesi* 'you read' 376

(so read instead of *vaṭ-*); *j=ś*, *j* in *bhija* 'seed', *vibhaṣita* 'decided'. There is some difficulty in deciding between *y* and *ś*, and, in the last instance, *vibhayita* could possibly be read. Since both treatments are well attested it is impossible to decide on linguistic grounds. Perhaps *vibhayi-* is more likely because the alternative spelling *j* never appears. In that case *y* may be taken as the regular treatment of *j* because the *j* of *bhija* may be explained by the doubling of the consonant after a long vowel (common in Prakrit, Pischel, § 91), i.e. *bija* > \**bīya* > \**biyya* > \**b(h)ijja* > *bhija* (on *j=jj*, cf. *raja*, *aja* beside *raja*, *aja*). The same development appears in *iṣa* 'here', Skt. *iha*, Aś. (Shah) *ia*, i.e. *iya* > *iyya* (by a natural emphasising which particles like this are exposed to) > *iṣa*, *iḥa* (= \**iṣa*).

In Saka loan-words *j* and *c* usually appear as *ś* (= *ś*): *ttīśa* = *tejas*, *daśa* = *dhvaja*, *āśirīa* = *ācārya*, *aviśū* = *avici*.

§ 18. *ṭ* and *ḍ* become = *ḍ*: *kukuḍa* 'cock', *koḍi* 'crore', *kiḍa* 'done', *vaḍavi* 'mare', *taḍita*, *daḍima* 'pomegranate'.

Intervocalic *ṭ* is sometimes preserved: *aloṭa vilōṭa* 'plundering and ravaging', *samghaṭi-davo* 106, 584, *paṭa* 'cloth'. Here we probably have *ṭṭ*. Not however in *viheṭa* 621 (usually *viheḍ-*) 'worries', *coṭaḡa* 317 = *coḍaḡa*, *guṭa* 17, which obviously stands for *gūḍha*. With reference to these spellings it must be borne in mind that the difference between the akṣaras for *ṭa* and *ḍa* is often very small.

At present in the North-West intervocalic *ḍ* is represented by *r*, and that may have been the pronunciation at this time. There seems to be one instance of confusion between *ḍ* and *r*. In 574 *śaḍa taṇmi* appears for *śarataṇmi* 'in the autumn'. Moreover in the Dh.p. B 43 *viśara* = *viśaṭa*, C<sup>vo</sup> 39 *karu* = *kāṭum*, *ajinaśaria* (Pet. Fragm.) = *ajinaśātyā*. Likewise in Tocharian loan-words we find *r* for *ṭ*, *ḍ*: *Cakravar* = *vāḍa*, *kapār* = *kapāṭa*, *kor* = *koṭi*.

On the other hand loan-words in Saka usually appear with *l*: *alavi* 'forest', *kūla* 'crore', *gula* 'molasses', *nālai* = Skt. *nāṭaka*, *virūṭinaa* 'made of beryl', *palā* 'banner', which would seem to point to *l*.

§ 19. *t*, *d*. There is no doubt that intervocalic *t* was voiced in the Prakrit, but matters are obscured by the fact that the



natives of Shan-Shan pronounced everywhere *t* for both *d* and *t*. Further, the traditional system of writing was probably archaic, so that e.g. *dita* was written for what was pronounced *dida* by proper speakers of Prakrit and *tita* by the natives of Shan-Shan. As a result we find *t* and *d* used indiscriminately for intervocalic (and even initial, §§ 14, 15) *t* and *d*.

*t* is omitted in *caura* '4', side by side with *catu-* and *caturtha-*. Similarly in the Dh.p. we find *cauri* '4', although intervocalic *t* is usually preserved. Further possible examples are *samao* (*samaho*) 'with' < *samataḥ* and *mahuli* 'aunt' < *mātulī*.

§ 20. *p=v*: *avi*, *darśaveti*, etc.; *uṭavala*, *parivalitavya*, *vavaṇṇae*, *mavida*, etc.

The *p* is often preserved in writing: *paripalitavo*, *upagata*, *apanaya*, etc.

Intervocalic *b* (*bh*) is usually preserved as such: *paribuṣṣatu* 'you shall understand', *vibhasita*, etc. They may have pronounced *v*, which does turn up occasionally: *Śilaprava* n.pr. 519, 592, and possibly *parivanae* 214 = *paribhāṇḍa(ka)*, *pivaṇṇaṇṇae* 586 = \**pi-bandhanāya*. In 519 read *bahuve* not *vahuve*.

In the Dh.p. examples of *b* (*bh*) = *v* occur: *avalaśa* = *abalāśva*, *abhivuyu* = *abhibhūya* and vice versa *makabha* is written for *maghavā*.

In *supraudha*, *praujhati* the *v* (i.e. *ṽ*) is not written. Similarly in Saka *aviṣṭiya* = *abhiṣeka*.

§ 21. *ś* becomes *ṣ*, written *j*: *avaḡaḡa* = *avakāśa*, *koḡalya*, *dajavita*, *pradeḡade*. This *ś* is often preserved in writing.

§ 22. *s* becomes *z*, written *ṣ* or *jh*: *aḡhia* = *āśya*, *aḡajhidati* 'they seized', *tivajha* 'day', *dajha* 'slave'.

*ṣ* in *maṣa* 'month', *daṣa*, *divaṣa*, *spāṣa*, *Budhaṣena*, and always in names in *-sena*, *aṣi* 'was', *viṣajideṣi* 'you sent'.

The *-asya* (*-assa*) of the genitive singular also appears as *-aṣa* (cf. R. L. Turner, *J.R.A.S.* (1927), 227-39).

As in the case of the other consonants intervocalic *s* may be preserved in writing: *asi* (3 times) side by side with *aṣi* (3 times), *asita* 'sat' 339, etc., *uḡasita*, *nikasiṣyati*, *prahitesī* 358, *denasi* 358, etc.

*ṣ* never appears when followed by *u* or the anusvāra, e.g. *śvasu*

'sister', *masu* 'wine', *vasamta* 'spring'. Probably this was a question of convenience of writing.

*s* appears initially in certain particles and pronominal forms which were unaccented, and consequently the *s* could be treated as intervocalic: *ṣamao* and *ṣadha* 'with', *ṣaca* (particle introducing a quotation), *ṣe* 'he', *ṣarva* 'all'.

The two ways of expressing *z* probably arose independently. Perhaps *jh* was modified from the existing *jh* specially to represent the Iranian *z*, which there was no room for expressing in Kharoṣṭhi, because in the Iranian word *jheniḡa* we invariably find *jh* and not *s*. Similarly *ajhade* 'free-born', *Hinajha* = *στρατηγός*, whereas *s* arose as a modification of the *s* in the same way as *ḡ*, *f*, etc. were invented, to meet the developments of the Prakrit itself which had occurred by this time. On the whole question see the Account of the Alphabet, p. 310 of the edition.

§ 23. *ṣ* probably followed the analogy of the other sibilants, but trouble was not taken to express it: *darṣida*, which is no doubt = Av. *darəz* 'bind', must contain a voiced *ṣ*, i.e. \**darṣida*.

§ 24. There is a tendency to drop the aspiration in the aspirated consonants *kh*, *gh*, etc. That was because the native language of Shan-Shan had no aspirates and consequently in pronouncing the Prakrit they neglected them: *nikaliṣyati* 188 (usually *nikhal*-) 'to remove', *gaṣa* 'fodder', *grida* 'ghee', *ṣigra*, *vyagra*, *saṃga*, *agacati* 122, *cinṃita* 598 'cut', *jinida* = *chinṃita*, *pratama*, *ṣavatade*, *ṣitilya*, *adicite*, *gaṃdarvena*, *goduma*, *daridavo*, *paṃda* = *paṃthā*, *sada* 'with', *maḍya* 'middle', *tanana* = *dhanā-nām* 583, *vrtaḡa* 399 'old', *uṭa* 'camel', *kumba* 'jar', *baḡena*, *bara*, *buma*.

§ 25. It was always correct to write the aspirated forms, and these more usually occur, e.g. *ghrida* (21 times), *grida* (3 times), *bhuma* (39 times), *buma* (7 times), *adhimatra*, *ghaṣa*, *ghrita*, *lekha* (never \**leka*), *goṭha* (never *goṭa*), *jeṭha* (never *jeṭa*), *ṣavatha*, *bhaḡa*, etc., etc. *uṭa* 'camel' is invariably written without aspiration except in 422 (one of the earliest of the documents), where it appears with the modified *ṭh*: *uṭhā*.

§ 26. This state of affairs further results in the writing of aspirated forms where they do not belong: *aṃgha* 252, *draṃgha*

430, *śighavera* 'ginger', *Sacāṃmi* 159 n.pr. (usually *Saca*-), *paribhuchanae* = *paribhuñjanāya* or *paribhoj*-, *sarachidati* 591 'agreed' (usually *saraj*-), *uthiśa* = *uddiśya*, *vivatha* 'quarrel', *gaṃdhavo*, *dhaṃḍa*, *dhajha* 225, *dhaḍima* 617, *dhana* = *dāna*, *dhaśaṃmi* 401, *dhida* 'given', *dhivaśa*, *dhura*, *durbhale* 392, *bhiti* 'second'.

§ 27. Those aspirated consonants which had remained down to the time of the importation of the Prakrit into Central Asia are treated as stated above. But before this time the majority of intervocalic aspirates had become *h* (for those that remain, e.g. *śavata*, cf. § 24): *-ehi*, *-ahi* of the instrumental plural: *lihati* (also written *likhati*), *saṃmuha*, *pramuha*, *suha*, *nihan* (= *nikhan* or *nihan*?), *taha* 'so', *amahu*, *tumahu* = *asmabhyam*, etc., *lahu*, *lahanti* = *labhante*, *parihaśa* 'claim' = *paribhāśā*, *prahuḍa* = *prābhṛta*, *gohomi* 'wheat' (also *goma* and *godūma*), *huḍi* = *bhṛti*- 399, *hoti*, etc. 'is'. The change is regular in the case of terminational elements, the unaccented *hoti*, *huda*, and in the case of intervocalic *kh*.

In the examples of *h* in the Dh.p. we cannot be sure whether we are dealing with northern forms or forms from the original version, e.g. *oha* = *ogha*, *ohaseti* = *avabhāsayati*, *suhu*, *lahati*, *aśuha*, *uhu* = *ubho* B 2.

§ 28. There is considerable irregularity in the treatment of *h*, owing to its absence in the native language.

(1) It is omitted: *mahanuava* for *mahanuhava* (once, 593) = *\*bhāva*, *mayi* 661 = *mahi* (Gen. not Loc.), *ara* = *hāra* 113, *svarna ara* (?), *danagrana* 577, 588 for usual *danagrahana* 'giving and taking', *goma* 'wheat', *giḍa* = *grhīta*, *Syabala* n.pr. = *Sihabala*, *ačhati* besides *hačhati* (only here *akṣ*- is the original form), *astama* besides *hastama* 'dispute', *astalekha* 414, *astaṃmi* 662, *paḍuvāga* 'security' = *\*paḍūhū-aḡa* = *pratibhū*, *paropiṃtsamānā* 510 = *\*paropahiṃsamāno* (as required by the metre).

(2) It is transposed in *uhati* for *huati* 'is'.

(3) It is put in where it does not belong: *prihito smi* 140 = *prītosmi*, *hadehi* 476 (usually *adehi*), *sahasrahani* 646 'thousands', *śamahō* besides *śamao* 'with', *Pugohasa* 511 (Gen. of *Puḡo*). Possibly *heḍi* 663 = *eḍā* 'sheep'.

§ 29. Besides *v* there is a letter transliterated *ṽ* which was probably a *w*. It was characteristic of the native language which had no *v*. It occurs commonly in native names: *Ṽapika*, *Ṽarpa*, *Ṽuḡaca*, *Ṽua*, and in the title *ṽasu*.

In Prakrit words it is evolved between *u* and a following vowel: *hetuṽena*, Instr. of *hetu* 'cause'; *tanuṽaḡa* 'own'; similarly in *vasuḡana* *Lpimsuṽasya*.

They are not however consistently used. We find *v* side by side with *ṽ* in native proper names: *Varpeya* beside *Ṽarpeya*, *vasu* besides *ṽasu*. Further *Vukto*, *Vuḡaca* (also *Ṽuḡaca*), *Vuḡeya*, *Vuru*, *vuryaḡa*.

Also *ṽ* instead of *v* in the Prakrit: *uṽadae*, *kaṁaṽeti*, *viṁṇaṽeti*, *maṽesi*, *ṽamti*.

The explanation of this confused state of affairs is probably that they tended everywhere to say *ṽ*, which was the nearest sound in their own language to the Prakrit *v*.

§ 30. It was probably a characteristic of the local pronunciation that they tended to pronounce initial *u-* as *wu-*. We find *uryaḡa* side by side with *vuryaḡa* (some kind of profession or class) and in 399 *vulasi* seems to be for *ullāsa* 'wonder'. Also native names are common beginning with *wu-*, *ṽu-*, practically non-existent with *u-* (see *Kharoṣṭhi Inscr.* Index Verb.).

§ 31. *l* was softened before *i* in the native language into what has been printed *lḥ* but should be written *ly* or *l̥y*, e.g. *L̥yipeya*, *L̥yimsu*, etc. In Prakrit words it does not often appear, though it was probably usually pronounced. We find *lḥihida* 575 for *lihita*, *vyal̥pi* fem. of *vyala* 'wild'. In *pal̥pi* 'tax' = *bali* it is invariably written just as the initial *p-* always appears for *b-*, presumably because it had become part of the native language. In native names it is occasionally, though rarely, omitted to be written: *Lipe* 754 beside *L̥pipe*, *Livarajhma* beside *L̥pivarasma*, *Piṣaliyammi* beside *Piṣal̥piyammi*.

§ 32. *yi-* probably developed in other positions too. Certainly at the beginning of words, just like *wu-* developed out of *u-*. There are no native names beginning with *i-*, plenty with *yi-*: *Yitaka*, *Yiliḡa*, *Yipḡe*, *Yiṣata*, *Yirumḡhina*. It affects Prakrit words only in *yiyo* = *iyam* 348, 410, *yima* = *ime* 237.

Possibly native *ni*, *ti* had also become *ñi*, *ci*. *ti* does not seem to occur in native names, *ni* only in *Kenika*, *Cinika* (which is probably derived from *Cina* 'Chinese' and so would keep its *n*); whereas *ñi* is common: *Ñimeya*, *Acuñiya*, *Apñiya*, *Kuñita*, *Kriñila*, *Mañigeya*, *Señima*. In the case of the last two changes, no influence on the Prakrit can be traced.

§ 33. One of the chief characteristics of the North-Western Prakrit, and which is found in the Dardic languages to this day, is the preservation of the three sibilants as in Sanskrit:

ś. śata, daśa, darśaveti, avakāśa, etc.

ṣ. teṣu, doṣa, eṣa, varṣa, etc.

There are no instances of confusion.

śāsana becomes śāśana 310 in the same way as original \*śasa became śaśa in Sanskrit. It was the regular form in the North-West, as it occurs also in the Dh.p. and as a loan-word in Saka śśāśana. The Dh.p. also has viśpaśa, which is the same kind of assimilation.

§ 34. The cerebral *ṇ* has ceased to be distinguished from *n* in the dialect. It is occasionally written, but irregularly. (See Account of the Alphabet, p. 305 of the edition.)

## CONJUNCT CONSONANTS

§ 35. **Stop + stop.** Assimilated in the same way as in other Prakrits: *anata* = *ājñapta*, *śata* = *śapta*, *satati* '70', *sataṃma* '7th', *bhata* = *bhakta*, *balakarena* = *balātkāreṇa*, *rataḡa* = *raktaka*, *satu* = *saktu*, *vuta* = *ukta* and *upta*, *saṃchūtena* = *saṃkṣiptena*, *upaṃma* = *utpanna*, *ukasta* = \**utkasta*, *uḡhivana* from *ut* + *kṣip*, *ladha* = *labdha*.

The conjunct consonants are preserved in writing sometimes: *vibhaktaga*, *vukta*, *prañapta*, *viṃñapti*.

In 581, *uktama* = *uttama*, a mistaken attempt at restoration is made.

§ 36. **Compounds with r.** As a rule *r* is not assimilated.

(a) *r* comes first: *antargata*, *Arjunaśa*, *varjavidavo*, *viśarjida*, *artha*, *ardha*, *kartavo*, *kirti*, *vardhati*, *purva*, *sarva*, *garbha*, *karya*,

*niryoga*, *durlāpa*=*durlabha*, *parvata*, *varṣa*, *darśida* 'packed', *darśana*.

There do not seem to be any examples of Prakrit *rk*. In native names there seems to be a tendency for it to become *rg*, though voiced stops are otherwise absent from the language, e.g. *Argiceya*, *Argiya*, *Kargate*, *Cargayodae*, *Tsurgeya*, *Bargada*. *k* also appears: *Carika*, *Tsurkeya*, *Patirke*, etc. *g* never appears as a spirant in this position. The same change appears in Śaka (*birgga* < *vṛka*, etc.) (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 23).

*rm* is written *m̄*: *dhāma*, *kāmā*, *camā*, *nīmala*, *jīvaśamā*. *rm* is occasionally written; *dharmiyaṣa* 579, 581, title of king Aṃgoka. Occasionally also the superscript line is omitted: *jīvaśamma* 611, *dhama* 228, *Dhamasīrae* 21, etc.

(b) Consonants + *r*: *agra*, *vyagra* 'tiger' 665, *citra*, *atra*, *tre*, *matra*, *kāmakaritra*, *kṛṣivatra*, *apramana*, *pra-*, *prati-* (also *paḍi-*), *prathama* (also *paḍama*), *bhrata*.

*gr* is represented by *kr* in *ajakra* 'up till to-day' and possibly in *akri* (*bhuma*)=*agra*.

The *ṭ* which sometimes appears for *tra*, e.g. *Paṭaya* and *Patraya*, *Brahmacariṭa* 399 for *Brahmacaritra*, *kamakariṭa* 166 v.l. for *tra*, is merely due to the fact that the two akṣaras are difficult to distinguish.

### § 37. Cases where *r* is assimilated.

(a) When placed first: *śakara* 702 'sugar', *vadhi* 264 n. 3 might be *vardhrī* 'rope', *viṣajidavo* side by side with *viṣarj-*, *parivaṭidemi* 'I exchanged'= *parivart-*, *kaṭavo* beside *kartavo*, *bhaṭaraḡa* 'master', *adha* 169 (usually *ardha*). At 589 also *aḍha* occurs. *śadha* 'with' (also *sardha*), *payati*=*paryāpti*, *aya* (409) = *ārya*, *sava* 565 (elsewhere always *sarva*), *tumbhichā* 589 (*trubhichā* 581) = *durbhikṣa*, *uṃna* 149 = *ūṇā*.

The cases of assimilation are definitely in a minority; where both forms occur those with *r* are much more common (e.g. *sava* and *sarva*, *adha*, *aḍha* and *ardha*; the forms without *r* occur only once). Some forms may be borrowed from an Eastern dialect. That is certainly so in the case of *bhaṭaraḡa* 'master'.

*Aṭhovaḡa* 'serviceable' according to Prof. Thomas = *arthopaka*. The value of the *ṭh* is not certain (see the Account of the

Alphabet, p. 304 of the edition). No other example is found which contains an *r*.

(b) *r* comes last: *vakuṭha* = *apakruṣṭa* (doubtful), otherwise *kr* is always preserved, *kṛita*, *parikṛaya*, etc. The *r* is always assimilated in *uṭa* = *uṣṭra* 'camel'; also *Rāṭhapāla* n.pr. 660 = *Rāstrapāla*.

§ 38. Apart from these it is only assimilated in the case of *śr*, which regularly becomes *ṣ*: *śayati* 'seizes' = *śrayate*, *maṣu* = *śmaśrū*, *śamaṇna*, *śamaṇnera* = *śramaṇa*, *śrāmaṇera*, *ṣunami* 695 'I hear'. *vyoṣeti* 'pays, hands over' probably = \**vyavaśrayati* and perhaps Prakrit *vosirai*, which the grammarians explain as *vy-ava-srj*. *miṣi* (*bhuma*) may be *miśrya* 'mixed'.

The change is often neglected in writing, almost always in *śru* - 'to hear', also *śramana*.

This development was universal in the North-West. It does not occur in Aśoka, but is common in the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, and in the Dh.p., e.g. *śavaka*, *śadhu* 'faithful', *śamano*, *śebha* = *śreyas*, *śutvana*. Also in loan-words in Saka: *ṣṣamana*, *ṣṣāvaa*, *ṣṣadda*. Note also Toch. *ṣamaṇ*, Sogd. *šmn* = *śramana*.

In the Dh.p. *sr* also seems to share this treatment in *anavaṣu-tacitasa*; *viśravatena* = \**visravantena* represents an intermediate process or else *śr* is just written for *ṣ*. Compare also *śrotas* = *srotas*, etc. in the Divyāvadāna. The *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins, from which this text is abstracted, is said to belong to the North-West.

§ 39. A characteristic of the North-West was the transposition of *r* in forms like *dhrama* for *dharma*. It occurs in both the Kharoṣṭhi versions of Aśoka, e.g. *grabhagara*, *dhrama*, *krama*, *pruva*, *draṣana*, side by side with forms that are not transposed, e.g. *savra* (written for *sarva*), *kiṭra*, *athra*, etc. Outside Aśoka it is common in the MS. Dutreuil du Rhins, e.g. *drugati*, *dru-medhiṣo*, *drugha*, *pravata*.

On the other hand there is practically no trace of it in the dialect of these documents. The only examples are *trubhichā* = *durbhikṣa* 581 and *śirmitra* n.pr. 117, etc. compared with *śrīmitra* 94.



Similarly, in most of the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from N.W. India this change is absent, e.g. (Konow, *C.I.I.* II, p. cvi) *dirgha*, *dharma*, *°karmi*, *°śarma*, *°varma*, etc.

§ 40. *l* is usually not assimilated: *jalpita*, *jalma*, *śilpiga*, *alpa*.

In this respect the dialect is more archaic than the Northern versions of Aśoka, where *l* is assimilated, e.g. *apa*, *kapa*, as also in the Dh.p. *apa*.

§ 41. *y* is usually assimilated to a preceding consonant.

*ky* = *k* or *g* in *osuka*, *°ga* = *autsukya*.

*jy* = *j*: *raja*, *jeṭha*.

*dy* = *ḍ*: *paḍeka*, *paḍuvaga*.

*ty* = *c*: *kica*. But always *nitya*.

*dy* = *j*: *aja*, *upajeśadi*, *khaja*.

*dhy* = *j*: *ajeśaṃnae* = *adhyeśanayā*, *jāna* 511 = *dhyāna*, *vijaṃti* = *vidhyanti*.

*ny* = *ñ*: *aña*, *punña*.

*bhy* = *b* in *abomata* = *abhyavamata* in the phrase *abomata kr-* 'to disregard, disobey'.

*vy* = *v* in gerundives: *dadavo* beside *dadavya* (cf. § 9).

*śy* = *ś*: *avaśa*, *uśa*, *naśati*.

*sy* = *ś*: *kariśadi*, *maṃnuśa*, etc. The change had already taken place in Aśoka's time and was general in the North-West, e.g. (in Aśoka) *arabhiśaṃti*, *manuśa*, *anapeśaṃti*, etc. Similarly in the Dh.p. *devamanuśana* B 4. In the latter text the future seems usually to be in *ś*: *eṣiti*, *payeṣiti*. Presumably the *ya* of the future had become *i* before the change took place.

*čhy* = *čh* in *śačhāmi* 188.

*sy* becomes *s* in the termination of the genitive singular (§ 22): *goṭhaśa*, etc.; *s* initially in *sali* 'brother in law' = *syāla*.

Sometimes *y* is written in connection with *ś*, *c*, *ch*, *ḍ* where it is not justified, e.g. *priyadarśyanaśa* 152, *paripruchyaṃti* 690, *Sacyami* 436, *giḍya* = *giḍa* 215 'took'.

§ 42. Sometimes *y* is not assimilated. In many cases this is merely the archaic or Sanskritising way of writing, which we are continually meeting with. Certainly in the case of genitive singulars in *asya* and futures in *iṣyati*. (The assimilation had already taken place in Aśoka 500 years earlier.) Also in *osukya*,



*madya*, *madhya* (curiously enough *j* is never written in this word, though it usually occurs in such forms as *aja*, etc.), *aṃnyatha*, *manyu*, *udīśya*. It is perhaps regularly preserved in the futures *stasyati*, *dasyati*; *syāt(i)* always becomes *siyati*.

The combinations *ry* and *ly* were probably regularly preserved: *kalyana*, *niryōga*, *viryaṃda*, *karya*. *payati* in the phrase *bhijapayati* 'capacity for seed', which seems to be = *paryāpti*, is an exception, also *aya* in 419 = *ārya*. Final *-ya* (i.e. *-iya*) usually becomes *-i* (§ 9). It is always preserved in *karya*.

Initial *vy-* and *sy-* stand for *viya-*, *siya-*, with which they alternate, e.g. *vyochimnita*, *vyoṣeti*, *vyartha*. Also *viyoṣ-*, etc., *siyati* and *syati* 'may be'. Note also *Syabala* n.pr. = *Si(h)abala*.

§ 43. *tv* and *dv* tend to become *p* and *b*, e.g. *badaśa* '12', *capariśa* '40', *biti* 'second'.

We also find *dvadaśa* and always *dvi*, *dui* '2', which was disyllabic. Also *daditva*, *sampreṣitva* 204, *bhudva* 49. Always *dvara*.

The *v* is omitted in *diguna* 'double'. Presumably also in indeclinable participles in *ti* = Vedic *tvī*, *vajiti* 'having read', etc.

Similar forms are found in the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of N.W. India, see Konow, *C.I.I.* II, p. cviii, e.g. *sapana* = *sattvanam*, *ekacaparīśai* '41'.

The rule is that original *tuva-*, *duva-* as found in the Veda were not assimilated: *dui*, Vedic *duvā*, Lat. *duo*, etc., but *di-guna*, *biti*, assimilated in different ways. Compare Vedic *dvi-* always monosyllabic, *dvara*, Vedic *duvārā*, e.g. R.V. 4. 51. 2.

§ 44. A nasal following another consonant is usually preserved. *n* is represented by the superscript line in *naḡa*, *viḡa* = *vighna*, *gr̥heyati* (usually *gimn-*), *tr̥ṣa*, *tuṣi*, *laṣi* 'gift', *ṣatra*.

*nm* is preserved in *jan̄ma*.

*kh̄m* in *trakh̄ma* 'drachma'.

*tm* becomes *tv* in *mahatva* (an official title), if that is not = *mahattva*, and in *atvana* 510. The *tv* passes further into *p* in *apane* 139, which seems to = *atmanah*.

Compare *atva* in the M. version of Aśoka (ed. 11), also *ata*.

Sh. has always *ata*. The Dh.p. has *anatma* and *atuma* with *svarabhakti*.

*jñ* is assimilated to *ñ* in *viññati*, *saññaveti*, *yañña*.

In *anati*=*ājñapti* we have to do with a borrowing. In Aśoka too we find *aṇap-* instead of the regular *añap-*. Similarly in Pali.

§ 45. The voiced stops *j*, *ḍ*, *d*, *b* tend to be assimilated to a preceding nasal. The process is most regular in the Dh.p.: *kuñaru* A<sup>2</sup> 4, *nivinati* A<sup>3</sup> 1, *tunati* B 28, *kana* B 34, *china* B 37; *N*, *ḍ*: *kunala* C<sup>vo</sup> 31, *dana* B 39, *panita* C<sup>vo</sup> 26; *mb*: *avaramu* A<sup>4</sup> 2, *udumareṣu* B 40.

In the documents we find *gaññavara*=*gañjavara*, *chiñnati*, *bhiñnati*, *bañnanae* 'to bind', *amila* 655 (of uncertain meaning) besides *ambila* 33 (= *āmla*?), *hastama* 'dispute', an Iranian word = *ha-* + *stamba-*, *parivanae* 214 probably = *paribhāṇḍaka* 'the load of a horse, baggage', *bhana* 149 = *bhāṇḍa-* (?).

The change never appears in *daṇḍa*, *piṇḍa*, and we find for instance *baṇḍhitaga* 660 side by side with *baṇṇidaga* 346.

On this change and its occurrence in the modern languages, cf. J. Bloch, *J. As.* (1912), pp. 331-7.

§ 46. In the Dh.p. unvoiced *k*, *c*, *t*, etc. are voiced when preceded by a nasal, e.g. *paga*=*paṅka*, *paja*=*paṃca*, *sabaṣu*=*sampaṣyan*.

The documents do not present any consistent picture. We find *upaśaṃghidavo*=*upaśaṅk-*, *saṃghalidavo*=*saṃkal-*, *gaṇḍavo* 14 times against *gaṇṭavo* twice, *ciṇḍ-* and *ciṇṭ-* in about equal proportions; *c* never appears as voiced: *kiṃci*, *paṃca*. Probably the change was regular as in the Dh.p., but since the natives of Shan-Shan tended to unvoice all voiced stops, it has been considerably obliterated.

The loan-words in Saka show the same change: *arahanda*, *cambaa*, *saṃduṣṭi*.

§ 47. The anusvāra is often omitted in writing, e.g. *abñya-dara*, *kaḍa*, *gadavo*, *Tajaka*, *traghade*=*draṃghade*, *śrigha* 585 'horn', *śighavera* 'ginger', *ṣoṭhaga* 422 (usually *ṣoṭhaṃga*), etc.

It is written where it does not belong, e.g. *muṇṭra*=*mudrā*, *ṣiṭuṃgha* (name of a king, usually *ṣiṭuḡha*), *chaṃlpitaṃti* 113 =

*jalpitamti*, *kāmlammi* 98, *nagamvammi* 25, *Jimvami* 290, *manasiṅgāra*, *Samrpina*, *tumbhiṅṅa* = *durbhikṣā*.

In *viṣati*, *triṣa*, *capariṣa*, *siha*, the *-m-* is omitted as in all the Prakrits, Pali *tīsa*, *sīha*, etc. *siṅgha* in 511 is due to a re-introduction of Sanskrit *siṃha*, as elsewhere in India, 'Singhalese', etc. It is also regularly omitted in *sarajitamti* 'they agreed' (*saṃrajyati*) and *viṣalavita* 295 = *visaṃlap-*.

An anusvāra is usually inserted before *n*, *m* after short vowels, e.g. *gachamṇae*, *deyamṇae*, and all the infinitives: *asamṇa* = *āsana*, *khamṇitamti* 'they dug', *Khotamṇa*, *gamṇana*, *jamṇa*, *jamṇma*, *śramamṇa*, *sumimṇa* 'dream', *bimṇita*, *chinṇita*, *karuṇṇiya*, *pumṇa*; locatives in *amṇi*: *agamṇisyatu*, *navamṇa*, *satamṇa* '7th', *naṃmakurvati*.

Forms without the inserted anusvāra occur, but they are very much rarer, *gachanae*, etc., not more than one in seven.

The anusvāra is only rarely inserted in the case of long vowels. Never in the case of genitive plurals in *-ana*, instrumentals in *-ena*.

Examples: *amṇitamti* 'they brought', *jamṇaṣi*, *pariṅṇimṇa*, *pramamṇa*, *simṇaṣa*, *Bhimmaṣena*.

Nasals followed by the corresponding stop are always written with anusvāra, not *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, etc. The *ñ* which appears printed is probably never correct. The combination *ṅg* should be read, as given alternately in the notes, *tḡ*. It occurs only in native names: *Katḡeya*, *Kutḡe*, *Kuritḡe*, *Catḡu*, *Cipitḡu*, etc. *ṅg*, where it is certain, is always represented by *mḡ(h)*: *draṃga*, *aṃgha*, *saṃghalidavo*. Also *g* never became a spirant after the nasal. *ṇk* should be read as *ts* in *Ramṣoṅka*, etc. Similarly in the MS. *Dutreuil du Rhins* the akṣara transliterated *ṇs* by Senart should be read *ts*: *satsara* A<sup>2</sup> 6, *ahitsai* A<sup>4</sup> 8, *bhetsiti* C<sup>vo</sup> 3, for *saṇsara*, etc. There was no *ñ* in Kharoṣṭhi.

#### § 48. Groups with final sibilant.

*kṣ* is preserved in the form *ḥṣ*: *ḥhetra*, *yogaḥṣema*, *bhiḥṣu*, *trubhiḥṣa*, *coḥṣa* 'clean', *ḥṣuna*, *ḥṣira*, *diliḥṣa* = *titikṣā*, *daḥṣina*, *naḥṣatrami*, *praḥṣaḥṣa*, etc.

*haḥṣati* 'may be, will be' = Prakrit *acchai* shows that that form must go back to an original *kṣ*. The *kṣ* is also preserved in the

Kharoṣṭhi versions of Aśoka and in the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of the North-West.

In Saka we find *kṣ* in loan-words: *kṣāṇḍā* = *kṣānti*, etc. The writing of the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p. does not preserve the distinction between *čh* and *ch*, e.g. *chaya*, *bhichavi*, etc.

In the modern languages of the North-West original *kṣ* is distinguished from *ch*, e.g. *Shīṇā* *ceç* = *kṣetra* *açi* = *akṣi*.

It is of course not certain whether *čh* stands for *kṣ* or some modification of it in the direction of the modern languages, but it is worth noticing that in Saka we find *kṣattrā* written for *chattra*.

*kṣ* is simplified to *ṣ* before *m* in *suṣmela* = *sūkṣmelā* 'small cardamoms', which occurs frequently in the Bower Manuscript.

*kṣ* becomes *kh* only in *khoriṭaḡa* 'shaven', which must be borrowed. In 322 we find *bhighu* instead of the usual *bhičhu*. *Khema* is a place-name and not = *kṣema*.

*ts* is preserved in *saṃvatsara*, *vatsa*. It is assimilated in *osuka* = *autsukya*.

A *t* is developed between *m* and *s* or *ś*: *maṃtsa*, *paropimṣāmanā* 510 = *paropahimsamāna*. Similarly in the Dh.p. (printed *ns* by Senart): *satsara*, *ahitsai* A<sup>4</sup> 8, *bhametsu* B 34. In loan-words in Saka: *saṃtsāra*.

*mś* becomes *mc* (i.e. *ntś*) in *saṃcaya* 31 = *saṃśaya* 'doubt'. The same form occurs in the Tocharian loan-word *sañce*.

Konow (*B.S.O.S.* vi, 465 ff.) wants to read *ts* as *tś*, both original *ts* in *saṃvatsara* and when it has developed as in *saṃtsara*. But it is difficult to see how this would differ from *c*, and in fact when *saṃśaya* develops into *saṃtśaya* it is written *saṃcaya* in 31. In 283, however, we find *saṃśaya*.

#### § 49. Groups with initial sibilant.

*śc* is preserved in the form *č*: *pača*, *niče*, *kači*.

*šk* becomes *śḡ* in *muṣḡeṣu* (Skt. *muṣka-*), *Puṣḡariyade*. In *muṣka* 565 = *mūṣikā*, where the *šk* has arisen more recently by the dropping of the vowel, it is preserved. The etymology and meaning of *haṣḡa* are uncertain. *truṣḡa* 581 seems to be made up of the prefix *dur-* and Iranian *huṣka* 'dry' (or read *vuṣḡa*).

More remarkable, initial *sk* seems to become *śg* in *śgabhanae* 'to prop' 586. The *śg* might have originated in forms of the verb compounded with a preposition. The treatment is confined to the language of the documents. In Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from N.W. India we find forms like *pukarini*=*puṣkarinī*, and in the Dh.p. we find *puṣkara* (see Konow, C.I.I. II, p. cix). Exceptions are *nikhal*- 'remove'= *niṣkal*- and *śuka* (*śukha*) if that=*śuṣka* 'dry'; *nikasta* 'went away' is probably=*niṣ-kas*. In the two last words the aspiration is almost always dropped.

*st* is preserved as a rule except sometimes in forms of  $\sqrt{sthā}$ : *asti*, *hasta*, *astarana*, *vistara*, *viśvasta*, *grihasta*.

$\sqrt{sthā}$  appears either as *stā* or *thā*, never *sthā*, e.g. *stasyati*, *stavidavo*, *stidaḡa*, *thanammi*, *thavamnae*, *thida*, *vithida*. *aṭhi* 'bone' for *asthi* appears with the cerebral, as in the other Prakrits (Pischel, § 308).

*ṣṭ* is always assimilated to *ṭh* (*t*): *aṭa*, *aṭha*, *avaṣiṭha*, *kaniṭhaḡa*, *goṭha*, *jeṭha*, *uṭa*, *praṭha*. *kāṣṭha* becomes *kaṭha* in 511, and in 422 *uṭha* is written for usual *uṭa*. The value of *ṭha* is doubtful, but it is usually consistently separated from *ṭh*. It would seem to stand for *ṣṭh* also in *kūṭhāchira*.

In *prasamṭhita* 511 and *vaṭhayaḡa* if that=*upasthāyaka* it represents *sth*; cf. Saka *vaṭhāyaa*.

In *aṭhovae* it seems to stand for *rth* (cf. § 37).

*ṣp* is preserved in *puṣpa* 'flower'.

*śm* becomes *m* in *maṣu* 'beard'.

*sm* becomes *m* in locatives in *aṃmi*, *amahu* 'of us'. It is preserved in *vismaridaḡa* 'forgot'. This treatment of *sm* was by no means general in the North-West. It also tended to develop into *sv*, which might further be assimilated into *ss* or become *sp*. We find locatives in *-asi* in Aśoka and later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions (Konow, C.I.I. II, p. cxi).

Locatives in *-aspi* are confined to Aśoka. In the Dh.p. we find *sm*, *sv*, *s*, e.g. *anusmaro*, *asmi*, *svadi* A<sup>2</sup> 5, *pratisvado* A<sup>2</sup> 9. *s* in locatives in *-asa* for *-asi*: *asmi loke parasa ca*, etc.

*sn* is preserved in the form *ś* in *śana* 647, etc.

*ṣn* is preserved in the form *ṣ*: *tuṣi*, *kṣṣaḡa*, etc.

*śl* becomes *l* in *leṣiṣamti*, which according to Prof. Thomas is from *śliṣ*.

*śv* becomes *śp* (printed *ñs*) in *aśpa* 'horse', *śpedaḡa* 'white'; *śv* is preserved in writing in *viśvasta*. Similarly in native names we find *Leśpaṃna* written side by side with *Leśvaṃna*. The same change occurs in the Dh.p. *viśpasa*, *viśpa*, and in Saka loan-words *viśpasta*, *Viśpaśarmā* n.pr.

*sv* becomes *śv* in *śvasu* 'sister', *śvastiḥemena*. This *śv* further develops into *śp* in *priyaśpasuae* 317. Compare Kalasha *iśpoṣi* = *svasrīya*, Garwi *iśpo* 'sister'. *sv* is always preserved in *svayaṃ*, *sveya*, *sve* 'self', and we find *svasti* written as well as *śvasti*. This development does not take place in the case of *śva*- or *śvā*-. Instead we find *śp* in *śpeṭha* (title) beside *śvṛeṭha*, *śparṇa* beside *śvarṇa* and *śuvarṇa*.

The *śp* is also developed out of *sp(h)* in *parospara* 'one another', *śpara*, *śpura* = Iranian (u)*spurra* 'complete', and *śpaṣa*, which may be connected with the Iranian *√spas* 'to keep watch', *Tamaspa* n.pr. This *śp* appears as *sv* in *svaśavaṃniye* 471.

### § 50. Miscellaneous.

In *aśimatra* = *adhimātrā* we find a quite unexplained *ś* (= *z*) for *dh*. A similar change seems to have taken place in *masu* = *madhu* 'wine', cf. Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises', *S.P.A.W.* (1933), p. 5. For further examples inside India, cf. Prof. Thomas in *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 791.

*v* is represented by *m* regularly in *gameṣ*- = *gaveṣ*- 'to seek', *ema* = *evaṃ*. Further *āmeḥitā* in the Dh.p. verses 510; *cimara* 149 may = *cīvara*. The phenomenon also appears in the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p. *bhamanai* = *bhāvanāya*, *nāma* = *nāvaṃ* and in *Apabhraṃśa* (Pischel, § 261).

For *śithila* besides *śitila* there is a form *śiśila*, which seems to be due to some kind of assimilation.

In 510 *dilicḥa* = *titikṣa*. The change *t* (*d*) to *l* seems to be due to dissimilation. The change *d* to *l* is not uncommon in the modern North-West languages (Grierson, *Torwali*, p. 14, e.g. *talā* = *tadā*). In 565 *triḥa* is probably the same word, with dissimilation into *r*.

*Timṇura* and *drimṇura* = *Tāmbūla* quite irregularly, as is natural in a word borrowed from the vernaculars; cf. Pkt. *simbali* = *śālmali*.

## DECLENSION

§ 51. The declensional system is considerably modified, compared with the literary Prakrits. As in Apabhraṃśa there is no distinction between nominative and accusative. The instrumental tends to be confused with the nominative. The neuter is lost. Feminines, except proper names and words denoting living creatures, are transferred to the *a*-declension. Except for these feminines that survive there is only one declension, the *a*-declension, nouns in *-ī*, *-u*, *-ṛ*, etc. being adapted to it by the addition of *-a*.

§ 52. The case terminations are:

	Sing.	Pl.
Nom. Acc.	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i> sometimes <i>-e</i>
Instr.	<i>-ena</i>	
Dat.	<i>(-ae aya)</i>	<i>-ehi</i>
Abl.	<i>-ade (āde)</i>	
Gen.	<i>-aṣa (asya)</i>	<i>-ana (-anaṃ, -ānāṃ)</i>
Loc.	<i>-aṃmi</i> , occasionally <i>-e</i>	<i>-eṣu</i>

§ 53. Sing. Nom. Acc. The *-a* of the nominative accusative is the original accusative. Final *-aṃ* became *-a*, as in the Gen. Pl. *-ana*, whereas *-as* became *-e* (§ 12). The nominative must have originally been *-e* in the dialect, but such forms as do occur are merely irregularities of spelling, e.g. *durbhale* 40, *paṭevare* 164, *parikreye* 401. Compare *avaṣe* 345, 437 for *avaṣa* = *avaṣyam*.

A nominative accusative sign in *-o* occurs sometimes. Regularly in the case of gerundives: *dadavo*, *kartavo*. Forms in *-avya* and *-avo* are used side by side indiscriminately. The former is presumably due to Sanskritising. Possibly *-aṃ* became *-o* after *v*, instead of *-a*, as elsewhere. We also find *jīvo*, and *tuvām* 'thou' becomes *tuo*. Other forms in *-o* occur sporadically which cannot be so explained. They are probably due to the influence of Sanskrit or another Prakrit: *laṃgho* 'lame' 106, *arogīyo* 161 (usually *arogī*), *vartamano* 164 (usually *vartamana*), *prathamadaro* 165, *rajadaro* 579, *ekaḡo* 296, *grahito* 359, *jīvaṃto* 646, *putro*, *praputro*, *ñatiyo* 437 (but see Index, s.v.). Further forms which frequently have *-o* are *aprameyo* and *aprameḡo*, *namakero*



=*namaskārya*, *manasikaro*. As a variant of -o we find -u in *toṣu* 373 = *doṣaṃ*.

The suffix -āga tends to become -ae in the nominative accusative (§§ 8, 16): *kiṭae*, *dītae*, *giṭae*, *thavastae*, *namatae*. -āge in *culaḡe* 117 = Pali *cullaka* is presumably just a way of writing -aye, -ae (cf. § 16). Occasionally this -ae is further modified into -e: *spāṣavamne* 'scout' = *spāṣavammāe* (āga), *bhaṭare* 'master' 147, *aṭhove* 'serviceable' 367 = *aṭhovae*, -āga, *kuḡe* 164 = *kuḡaḡa* 'boy', *namate* 476 = *namatae* 'cloth', *ṣune* 17 = *ṣunaka* 'dog', *vaṭhaye* 189 = *vaṭhayāga*.

§ 54. **Sing. Instr.** The instrumental presents no remarkable features. It probably never becomes -ina (cf. § 1) except in pronominal forms: *tiṃna*, *kiṃna*. *Parihaṣina* 279 can alternatively be read *parihaṣena*. Nor does it ever appear shortened to -em.

§ 55. **Sing. Dat.** Except in infinitives the dative is rare. It had obviously died out in the popular speech. We find *posathakāmaya* in 489 *yo bhiṭhu posathakāmaya nanuvarteyati*, 'Whichever monk shall not conform to the rite of fasting', which is obviously imitated from the language of the religious texts. Also one or two compounds with -artha: *prahuḡarthaya* 'for the sake of a present', *maghalartaya* 221 'for the sake of good luck'; °artha and °arṭhi are used in the same way. *prahuḡartha*, *khadaṃnarthi* 212, *pumṇāarthi* 345. *avamicae* 'on loan' is probably = *apamityaka*, *āpamityaka* (*Arthaśāstra*, II, 13. 1, 6) rather than *apamityāya*.

§ 56. **Sing. Abl.** is always in -ade = Pkt. -āo: *goṭhade*, *nagarade*, *bhumade*, *Caḡodade*, *Calmadanade*, etc. The long a is sometimes expressed: *Nināde* 637, *Puṣḡariyāde* 660. There are no forms in -ama = *asmāt*. The words *avasama* and *hastama* are nominative singulars (see Index, s.v.).

§ 57. **Sing. Gen.** The genitive is in -aṣa, perhaps = -aza, cf. § 22. But it is never found written -aḡha; -aṣya is often restored in writing through the influence of Sanskrit: *Lpimsuasya* 163, *Taṃjakasya* 541, *Kolḡiṣasya* 159, etc.



§ 58. **Sing. Loc.** The usual ending is *-aṃmi*: *avānaṃmi*, *kalaṃmi*, *ḥkunaṃmi*, *rayadvanaṃmi*, *goṭhaṃmi*, *thanaṃmi*, *has-taṃmi*, *divasaṃmi*, *hemaṃtaṃmi*, etc.

*-e* occurs in *saṃvatsare*, *maṣe*, *divaṣe* used in dating formulas, elsewhere very rarely: *haste* 117, 140; *-i*: *rayadvare* 46. (This may be adjectival, § 75.)

The non-Indian *saste* 'day' forms a locative in *sasteḥi* 442-656. The same form occurs in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from N.W. India.

It is also inflected in the usual way: *sasteyaṃmi* 329, etc. *tivaseḥi* 655 is written on the analogy of *sasteḥi*.

§ 59. **Pl. Nom. Acc.** There is no distinction between the nominative and the accusative plural. They are usually identical in form with the nominative accusative singular. Thus *-a* 46: *mahatva vivada pruchitaṃti* 'The magistrates examined the dispute', 506 *ede śramaṇna*, etc.; in *-ae*: 293 *avi ca yo paraṣitae Caḍotiye* 'The Caḍotans who were carried off', *Koḡitasasaṃmi Supiye gadaya maṃtreti* 'He says the Supis have come to K.', 506 *ede śramaṇna Kuhanīyāde na aīdae huaṃti* 'These śramaṇas have not come from the capital'; *-āga*: 180 *poṭaḡa dui mṛtaṃti* 'two young (animals) died', 27 *catu kiśoraḡa* 'four colts'. Gerundives in *-o*: *ede uṭa cavala Lpīpeyaṣa haṣtaṃmi Calma-danaṃmi viṣajidavo* 'These camels must quickly be sent to C. in the hand of Lpīpeya', etc.

§ 60. There is a plural in *-e* which is regularly employed in the case of the suffix *-i* and the native suffix *-eṃci*, *-iṃci*. Examples: *rajiye jaṃna* 272 (Acc.), *gramiye* 271, *Caḍotiye* 326, *kilmeciye* 'belonging to the district of', 152, 271, etc., *Yave-aṅanemciye* 401, *klasemciye* (a kind of official) 562, *Saciṃciye* 160, *seniye* 'soldiers', 1. 397, 478, *Supiye* 109, 119, etc. \**vani* out of *vanij-* forms its plural in the same way, *vaniye agamiṣyati* 35. This plural is not applied indiscriminately to all bases in *-i*. We never find \**saḥīye* for instance as plural of *saḥī* 'witness' but *saḥī* according to the general rule. Similarly *gavi* = 'cow' and 'cows'.

Sometimes we find *-i* in the plural instead of *-iye*, following the general rule, e.g. 305 *Calmataṃci aṃna darṣitaṃti* 'The

people of C. packed the corn', *Tsegeci* 505, *kilmeci* 632, *raji jamna* 272 side by side with *rajiye jamna*; also 639 *yatha atra ogu ajhurakaša kilmeci Caḍotiye imade gachamti* 'That there the Caḍotans belonging to the district of the *ogu* Ajhuraka go from here', 32 *tatra bahove Caḍoti Parvatiye saḥi* 'There many Caḍotans from the mountains are witnesses'. The last two examples are illustrative of the rule that of nouns and adjectives in apposition only the last is inflected. Similarly *Kroraimci mamnušana* 370.

There is a plural *-iya* (= *i*, § 9) in 324 *Supiya... agatamti* 'The Supi's came'.

Other plurals in *-e* occur without it being possible to make any definite rules. Most commonly when preceded by *r*: *goṭhadare* 362, 371, 475, 506, 528, 735, *draṃghadhare* 'officials' 554, *draṃghadare* 107, *lehare* 'letter carriers' 109, 376, *bhradare* 195, *prahare* 'blows' 209, 462, etc. (also *prahara* 187, 204).

The plural *avaśiṭhe* 'remaining' is always in *-e*. Similarly *ṣiṭhe* 305, 519.

Further examples are *uṭavale* 562 (side by side with *uṭavala*), *thamavamte* 468, *mahamte* 160, *bahuve camme* 180 (= *j*- 'young ones'), *vr̥dhe* 326, *śadavide* 580, *kilane* 'sick' 414, *nave* 338, *padatale (namasyati)* 696, *khamje* ('lame?') 156, *mamnuṣe* (Acc.) 130.

The *-e* is now and again written *-eya*: *śpaṣavamneya* 522, *mahatveya* 580, *rajadareya* 582.

Instead of *-e*, *-i* is sometimes written: *avaradhi* 358, *cori* 676, *avaśiṭhi* 63, *śarvi* 279, *mahamti* 303, *bahuvi* 351, *yatmi* (kind of official) 349, *purimi* 140.

§ 61. Traces of the neuter plural in *-āni* occur rarely, chiefly in introductory formulas of which the style tends to be influenced by Sanskrit, e.g. *bahukoḍiśatasahasrani*, *rajakaryani* 272, *śadani* 133, *karyani* 161; *vaḍaviyani* 212 looks like the erroneous application of this termination to a feminine stem.

§ 62. Plurals which have nothing to correspond to them in Prakrit occur in *-amca* and *-eyu*.

(a) The plural in *-amca* was pointed out by Prof. Thomas in *J.R.A.S.* (1927), p. 544. Examples: *aṣpaṃca* 387, 681, *śaḍaṃca*

85, *dajhaṃca* 133, *paṭaṃca* 660, *bhumaṃca* 366, 713, *uṭaṃca* 681, *uṭaca* (with omission of *anuvāra*) 387, *mahatvaṃca* 696, *paśunaṃca* 683.

(b) The native word *pake* (= ?) forms its plural in *pakeyu*. These two forms are explained out of Tocharian in *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 673.

§ 63. The Pl. Instr. Abl. *-ehi* is rarely met with: *putra-*  
*dhidarehi* (*śadha*) 450, *sarvehi śadena bhavidavya* 702. There is no certain instance of its being used in an ablative sense. At 12 *taḡastehi varidavo* it might be an ablative, only the meaning of *taḡasta* is quite unknown.

§ 64. Pl. Gen. *bhratarana, cojhoana, paśavana, manuśana*, etc. The sign of length is sometimes written *\*satāyukāna* 399, *cojhoāna* 107. Under the influence of Sanskrit we find it written *-ānām, bhratarānām* 162 and *-anām, bhaṭaraḡanām* 140, 162, *\*pramanānām* 140, *priyadarśananām* 126, 140, *saṃpujitanām* 140, 162, *cojhoanām* 576.

§ 65. The Pl. Loc. presents no abnormal features: *uṭiyeṣu, goṭheṣu, draṃgeṣu, nagareṣu, nimamtreṣu, paśuveṣu, parvateṣu, pṛtheṣu, muṣgeṣu*.

§ 66. Their knowledge of Sanskrit has induced the writers to put in a dual occasionally: *padebhyam* (Dat.) 288 with the *e* of the plural, *pateyo* 722, *padayo* 34, 97, 133, *pādeyo* 498 = *pādayoh*.

§ 67. Except for words denoting living creatures old feminines tend to be transferred to the *a*-declension. Examples: *ratraṃmi* 415 'by night', *velaṃmi* 637; *simammi* 163, 367 may be from *śīmā-* or *śīman-*; *devataṣa, śiḡataṃmi* 576. Similarly feminines in *-i: pritiyena*, etc. (§ 70).

The feminine terminations occur sometimes as well: *ratriyae* 370, *vela velaya* 'from time to time' 358, 371, *pačimadišaya* 90 side by side with *purvadišade*.

The form is always used in *dutiyae* = *\*dūtyayā* in the phrase *dutiyae gam-* 'to go as an envoy', and more commonly in *ajeṣamṇae* = *adhyeṣanayā* 'at the request of' (also *ajeṣamṇena*). Preservation is to be expected in fixed formulas.

§ 68. The suffix *-ī* has become the sign of the feminine. Of old feminines in *-ā* only *bharya* 'wife' is regularly retained as a feminine; Nom. Acc. *bharya*, Instr. Gen. Loc. *bharyae*. No plural forms are found. The only feminine from which quite a number of inflected forms occur is *uṭi* 'a female camel'. The forms are Nom. Acc. *uṭi*, Gen. Instr. Loc. *uṭiae*, Nom. Pl. *uṭi*, Gen. Pl. *uṭiyāna*, Loc. Pl. *uṭiyeṣu*. As will be seen the masculine forms are attached in the plural. Other nouns in *-ī* are *stri* (*striae*, *strie*, *striyana*), *bhaṭariyae* 756, *vaḍavi* 'mare', *vaḍaviyae* 600, *vaḍaviyana* 600, *kuḍi*, *kuḍiyae* 'girl', *devi*, *deviyae*, *dajhi* 'slave-girl', *mahuli*, *prithivi*. From adjectives and participles the feminine is always in *-ī* where Sanskrit and Prakrit have *-ā*. There is a similar tendency in Apabhraṃśa. Examples: *uniti* = *unnītā*, *gilani* 'sick', *śpeti* 'white'. The *-ī* is perhaps partly out of *-ikā*, cf. § 16.

Feminine nouns in *-ī* are adapted to this declension, e.g. Nom. Acc. *madu*, Gen. etc. *maduae*, *śvasu*, *priyaśpasuae* 316, *dhitu*, *dhitue* 416. In the dvandva *putradhidarehi* 450 there is a different treatment.

Instead of *-ae* the genitive is sometimes in *-e* in nouns ending in *-ī* and *-u*, e.g. *strie* 209, *madue* 450, *dhitue* 416. This is due to analogy, *strie* is to *stri* as *bharyae* is to *bharya*. But compare also the similar treatment of the suffix *-ae* (§ 53), which cannot be explained in this way.

§ 69. Feminine proper names are distinguished from ordinary nouns in that the *-ae* of the oblique cases is transferred to the nominative, so that there is no distinction of case at all, e.g. 39 *yatha edeṣa dajhi Cimikae nama* 'They have a slave-girl called Cimika'.

Nominatives in *-a* are found rarely: 415 *sa striya Tsina*; *Sarpina* 279, *Supriya* 621, *Konuma* 46. Very rare is the nominative in *-ae* other than in proper names: 157 *mahi bharya... jivamṭiyae asti*.

As a result of this we even once or twice find genitives in *-aeṣa*: *Suḡaeṣa* 117, *Cataroyaeṣa* 399.

The *-ae* is appended to native names in *-o*: *Kuviṇṇoe*, *Kacoe*, *Kroae*, *Camoae*, *Pitoae*, *Yaśoe*, *Laroe*, etc.

Corresponding to genitives like *strie*, *madue*, we find nominatives in *-oe*: *Koloe*, *Camtanoe*, *Tsordhoe*, *Pitoe*, *Suġoe*. Similarly *Sarvaśṛe*. Conversely we find *-aae* on the analogy of *-oae*: *Cakuvāae* 279, *Tilutamāae*, *Namilgāae*, *Puñalajhaae*, *Lpīpimtsāae*, *Saḡanāpāae*, *Saḡapcaae*, *Sarpīśāae*, *Saluvāae*. Or we may be dealing with native bases on *-ā* to which the termination was added, as always in native bases like *Yqśo-ae*, *Lpipe-y-aśa*.

§ 70. Nouns in *-i* are transferred to the *a*-declension by appending the terminations *-aśa*, *-ena*, etc. to the stem in *-i*. Nom. *-i*, Instr. *-iyena*, Gen. *-iyaśa*, Loc. *-iyaṇmi*, Nom. Pl. *-i*, Gen. Pl. *-iyana*, Loc. Pl. *-iyeṣu*. Nouns originally in *-in*, e.g. *sačhi*, are treated in the same way. The nominative accusative (singular and plural) may also be written *-iya* though less frequently. The genitive singular may be *-iśa* (as in Pali and Prakrit), but in the other cases the fuller forms are always used. Examples: *palṭi* (= *bali*), *palṭiyāśa* 725, *palṭiśa* 162, 508, *palṭiyena* 42, *diṭhi* (Nom. Pl. measure of length), *khi* (Nom. Sing. and Pl.; also *khiyi* 186), *Samgaracchīśya* n.pr., *sačhi*, *sačhiyena*, *sačhiyana*. Originally feminine: *priti*, *pritiyena*, *anatiyade* (cf. the treatment of nouns in *-ā*, § 67). Occurring only in the nominative: *prahuni* ('garment'), *sali* 'brother-in-law' (but Skt. *syāla-*), *vacari* ('jar?'), *mukeṣi*, *vimñati*, *saṇñati*, *pravṛti*.

Nouns originally in *-ya*, *-iya* are not distinguishable from nouns in *-i*: *mulī*, *muliyena*, *muliyaṇmi*, *aśiyade*, *aroḡi*, *Dhāmāpri*, etc. Similarly *-iya* in *biti* '2nd', *bitiyāśa* and *bitiśa*. The proper name *Samgaśri* makes its genitive *Samgaśrīśa* in 419 (i.e. *Samgaśriśa*, cf. § 5).

§ 71. Nouns in *-u* are treated in exactly the same way as those in *-i*. Examples: *masu* 'wine', *masuvēna*, *masuśa*, *masusya*, *masuaśa*, *masuaṇmi*; *vasu* (a title), Gen. Pl. *vasuana*, *vasuvāna*; *bhičhu*, *bhičhusya*; *hetu*, *hetuvēna*. Only in Nom. Acc.: *lahu*, *vastu*, *tanu* 'own', *manyu*, *vačhu* (= ?). The nominative is never extended to *-iwa*, as *-i* to *-iya*. The genitive in *-usya* is much more frequent than *-uaśa*. The word *paśu* preserves some old forms. Quite according to type are Gen. Sing. *paśuśa*, Loc. Pl.

*paśuveṣu* 568. But we find *paśava* in the Nom. Pl. (*paśu* is also plural 519) = *paśavaḥ*, whence further a Gen. Pl. is formed, *paśavana* 315, 584. *paśuna* 725 seems to be a Nom. Pl., cf. also *paśunaṃca*, § 62; *bahu* is sometimes plural, e.g. 430, but it also makes its plural in *bahuvē* (*vi*) presumably out of *bahave* = *bahavaḥ*, with the -u from the singular. But perhaps the analogy of *sarve* is responsible for the -e here, since we never find \**paśave*.

§ 72. Other bases. On feminines in -ī see § 68. From *pitṛ* we have Nom. Acc. Sing. *pita*, more usually *pitū*, Gen. *pitusya* 109 (text -*vya*), Nom. Pl. *pitara*. From *bhrātṛ*, Nom. Acc. *bhrata* and *bhratu*, Nom. Pl. *bhatara* and *bhratare*, Gen. Pl. *bhratarana*, *bhratuana* 157, *priyabhratre* 159 (case?); *priyajamata*. There are no agent nouns in -*tr*.

From -*an* bases *takṣan* 'a carpenter' is expanded into *taṭṭhaṇna*. Usually the -*n* is simply dropped and they are inflected as -*a* bases. *mahatva* 'magistrate' = *mahātmā*, Gen. *mahatvaśa*. Neuters: *bhuma*, -*aśa*, -*aṇmi*; *śirṣa*, *śirṣaśa* (589, cf. the proper names in -*aśa*, § 73); *namena*; *posathakāmaya*.

-*ant* bases are enlarged to -*aṇta* except *mahā-* in compounds, *maharaya*, *mahacojhbo* 259 beside *mahāṇta cojhbo* 161, etc. Examples: *mahāṇtaśa*, *jayaṇta* 'victorious', *jayaṇtaśa*, *araṇta*, *Puṇṇavaṇta*, *Viryaṇta*.

*Śiraśa* in the phrase *śiraśa viṃśavemi* is an isolated example of the consonantal declension, no doubt due to the influence of Sanskrit. We get the regular treatment in *manasaṇmi*; *manasiyaṇmi* 399 is a result of confusion between *manasi* and *manasaṇmi*.

From *śarat* we have Loc. *śarataṇmi* 'in Autumn'.

*Dhanuṣ* 'bow' is declined as a -*u* base: *dhaṇṇuena* 190.

§ 73. Native names (and words) are treated in the same way as Prakrit words in -*i*, -*u*; e.g. in -*i*, -*u*: *Cadhī*, *Cadhīya*, *Cadhīyaśa*, *Tamī*, *Tamīyaśa*, *Pigī*, *Pigīśa*, *Samghuti*, *Samghutiśa*, *Suḡī*, *Suḡīya*, *Suḡīyaśa*, *Suḡīśa*, *Suḡīyena*, *Yonu*, *Yonuśa*, *Yonuśaśa*, *Lpimsu*, *Lpimsuśaśa*, *Lpimsuśa*, *Larsu*, *Larsua*, *Larsuaśa*, *Larsuśa*. Similarly in -*o* and -*e*: *Tamcgo*, *Tamcgośa*, *cojhbo*, *cojhbośa*, *cojhboana*, *Cgīto*, *Cgītoena*, *Cgītōyena*. In names in -*e* the extended form -*eya* of the nominative is more common than

the simple *-e*: *Lpipeya* and *Lpipe*. That is no doubt because in the Prakrit they wrote *parikreya ničeya*, etc. for what they pronounced (and sometimes wrote) *parikre niče*. No doubt *Lpipe* is the real native form. Examples: *Maṣḍhiḡe*, *-eya*, *-eyaṣa*, *-eyena*, *Caule*, *Cauleya*, *Cauleṣa*, *Parsuḡe*, *-eya*, *-eyaṣa*, *-eṣa*. As in nouns in *-i*, *-u* shorter forms occur for the genitive: *-eṣa*, *-oṣa*, *-iṣa*, *-uṣa*, beside *-eyaṣa*, etc., but not for the other cases. Names in *-a* declined *-aena*, *-aaṣa*, etc. possibly contain long *ā* (cf. feminines in *-a*, *-ae*, § 69): *Cācāṣa*, *Cramaena*, *Tamcḡaaṣa*, *-aena*, *Tamaṣpaaṣa*, *Tuṣanaaṣa*, *Tsuḡeṣlaaṣa*, *Motekaaṣa*, *Śakaaṣa*.

## SUFFIXES

§ 74. The suffix *-ka* is very common in the form *-aḡa*, *-ae* (§ 8): *bhaṭaraḡa* 'master', *pravamṇaḡa* 'document', *saṃvat-saraḡa* (100), *kālaḡa* 86, *kiśoraḡa* 'colt', *poṭaḡa* 'young animal', *kuḍaḡa* 'boy', *phaliṭaḡa* 214, *parivanae* 214 (*paribhāṇḍaka?*), *tāvastaḡa*, *thavastae* 'carpet', *thavamṇae* ('cloth'), *namatae* (coat or cloth), *tanuvaḡa*, *-ae* 'own'.

Adjectives: *śpedaḡa* (*śveta*), *coṭhaḡa* (*cokṣa* 'clean'), *puranaḡa*, *satavarsḡa*, *trevarsḡa*, etc., *kaniṭhaḡa*, *dharamṇaḡa* 'owing a debt', *avamicae* 'on loan', *jivamḍaḡa* 'alive', *culaḡe* (cf. § 53) = *cullaka*. In words of obscure origin: *kicamaḡa* 'due, owing' (of tax, etc.), *laṃcaḡa* 'proper, properly'.

The feminine corresponding to *-aḡa* is *-i* (= *ikā*): *śpedaḡa*: *śpeti*, *bhaṭaraḡa*: *bhaṭari*, *jivamḍaḡa*: *jivamṭi*, *kuḍaḡa*: *kuḍi*.

When added to past participles in *-ta* they have a passive meaning, while the simple *-ta* is used as the 3rd person of the preterite: *dita* 'he gave', *ditaḡa*, *ditae* 'given'.

The form *-ae* for *-aḡa* is much commoner in participles than elsewhere.

§ 75. The suffix *-i*. Adjectives are made from nouns by substituting *-i* for the *-a* of the nominative accusative: *Caḍoti* 'belonging to C.', *Khotamṇi*, *Parvati*, *saṃvatsari palpi* 'the year's tax', *masuvi ṣoṭhamḡa* 272 'The *ṣoṭhamḡa* (an official) connected with *masu* (wine)', *ghriti paṣu*, *caḡali paṣu* 613 'small cattle consisting of goats', *goṭhi kama* 298, *rayadvāri mahatva* 46, *upaṣamḡhi śrava* 139, *paruvarṣi* 'belonging to last year', *para-*



*rivarṣi* 'belonging to the year before last', *catuvarṣi* and *caura varṣi* 'four years old', *vatsiya* 'possessing a calf' (*gavi*) 676.

The *-i* is derived from *-ika*; the guttural was weaker in suffixes than elsewhere and would disappear (§ 16): *saṃvatsari palṣi* = *saṃvatsariko baliḥ*. Such forms were originally vṛddhied, but vṛddhi has died out in the language except for one or two stereotyped or borrowed forms: *vevatuḡa* 'an object of (legal) dispute'.

§ 76. A suffix *-tra* is used three or four times to make abstracts from agent nouns: *brahmacaritra* (*-ṭa*) 399, *kāmakaritra* (*-ṭa*) 106, 130, *kṛṣivatra* 'cultivation' (from *kṛṣīva-la* or = *kṛṣivaptra*, cf. Index).

Formed with the same suffix is *jañātra*. It is used in the phrases *jaññātrena dā-*, *anī-* which seem to mean 'give, take in marriage', e.g. 21 *taṃ kalaṃmi eṣa Cato śramana Sundaraṣa dhitu Supriya nama bharya anita caññātrena* 'At that time this śramana Cato took as wife the daughter of Sundara called Supriya, *caññātrena*'. The sense seems to require 'with the proper marriage ceremony, in legal marriage' or something like that. There is considerable difficulty in establishing a uniform reading, but *tra* seems to be the best attested. We find 474 *jañātriyena* v.l. *jaññāvīyena*, 418 *jaññātōena* v.l. *jaññātrena*, 555 *jaññātrena* v.l. *jaññāvēna*, 621 *caññātrena*.

§ 77. Native suffixes. *-e(m)ci*, *-i(m)ci*, *-ci* is used in making adjectives from place-names: *avānaṃci*, *Kroraiṃci*, *Caḍodeṃci*, *Calmataṃci*, *Calmadanemci*, *Tsakemci*, *Ninaṃci*, *Potḡeci Bha-(tsa-)ḡasemci*, etc. Native words: *kilmemci* 'belonging to the district of', *klaṣemci* (some kind of official). It is rarely applied to Prakrit words: *paṃthaci masu* 637, *simici mahatva* 436.

*-ina* appears commonly in native words: *cuvālaina* (title), *cilaṃdhina* 'shared', *paṃcaraina*, *acoviṃna*, *koyimaṃdhina* (an official connected with corn).



## PRONOUNS

## § 78. First Person.

SING. NOM. *ahu*. The explanation of the *-u* is difficult; *-am* usually becomes *-a*. We also find *-u* instead of *-a* in the Gen. Pls. *amahu* and *tumahu*.

*aham* is also written quite commonly, which is of course Sanskritising. Also *ahum* (*apya*) 399.

ACC. not found.

GEN. DAT. *mahi* (= *mahyam*), *mama*, 161. Elsewhere *mama* is used as Nom. or Acc., e.g. 139 *mama aroḡemi* 'I am well', 524 *yatha mama Śristeyaṣa paride srutemi* 'As I have heard from Śriste', 164 *iṣa mama prochaṃti* 'Here they ask me'.

INSTR. *maya* 16, 328, 331, 661. At 329 it is used as Gen.: *maya maharayaṣa padamulammi*.

LOC. not found. *mayi* 661 = *mahi* (cf. § 28).

PL. NOM. *veyaṃ*, *veya*, *vayaṃ*. Acc. not found. Gen. *amahu*, *asmahu* = *asmabhyaṃ*. As in the Nom. Sing. the *-u* is unexplained.

There also occur *asmeḥi* 370 and *asmabhi* 585; *asmaḡa* 713 = *asmākam*. In 86 we find *asmaḡena*: *Casminena viṣaḡideṣi asmaḡena caragena* 'You have sent Casmina our spy'. The Instr. is often confused with the Nom. Acc. as here, so that *asmaḡena* has nothing to do with the Vedic inflected *asmāka* 'our'. Loc. and Instr. forms do not occur; *asmeḥi* 370 is Gen. from the context.

## § 79. Second Person.

SING. NOM. *tuo* (Vedic *tuvaṃ*; for the *-o* cf. § 53). *tu* at 63 may be just careless writing.

The form *tuo* is used apparently as an Instr. with gerundives, e.g. 113 *tatra tuo piḡita cita kartavo* 'There by you expressly attention must be made' (cf. Index Verb.). The form *tuo* naturally cannot = *tvayā*. On the confusion of Nom. and Instr. cf. § 117.

INSTR. does not occur. *taya* 430 is taken as = *tvayā* in the Index Verb. Read probably *tapataya* 'immediately' for *ta(th)a taya*. The Loc. also does not occur. Gen. *tahi* on the analogy of *mahi* = *mahyam* (*tehi dahi*). Also *tusya*, *tuṣa* with the nominal

-*sya*. *tusya* is used as a Nom. at 157 *tusya...udaḡa baṁnideṣi* 'you blocked up the water'. *tava* occurs once: 161 *tava paṛide. tomi=tava...mi* (see Index). The enclitic forms *me* and *te* are not used.

PLURAL. Only Gen. forms occur: *tumahu* (cf. *amahu*) with *t-* from the singular as always in Middle Indian. Other forms are *tusmahu*, *tusmaḡa* 399, *tusmakam* 140. The forms are of course artificial, otherwise we should have \**tuṣmahu*, etc. Quite isolated is *yusme*: 519 *avi tusya pitu Suḡuta yuṣme agrata uṭa atha aspa pratiṣruta* 'And your father Suguta in front of you promised a camel and a horse'. The reading is not certain: *yusmu* and *yusma* are given as variants.

### § 80. *sa-*, *ta-*.

SING. NOM. Masc. *se* with *-e* regularly developed out of *-as* (§ 12). It is sometimes written *ṣe*, which indicates that the *s* was voiced owing to its being unaccented; *so* occurs rarely, 198, 337. Fem. *sa*; Neut. *taṁ*. Since nouns do not distinguish masculine and neuter *taṁ* is only used when it stands by itself, e.g. 283 *taṁ vismaridavya* 'That must be forgotten'.

ACC. Masc. Fem. Neut. *ta=tam, tām*, e.g. 582 *ta bhuma praceya* 'concerning that land'; 415 *ta striya...aḡajhidaṁti* 'They carried off that woman'. Unlike nouns the pronoun distinguishes Nom. and Acc. but there are occasional confusions, e.g. 625 *se* is Acc.: *ṣe kuḡaḡa Lpimiṁnaṣa goṭhade Khotamniye paraṣa kritaṁti* 'The Khotanese carried off that boy from the farm of Lpimiṁna'.

INSTR. Masc. *tena*. Abl. *tade* 140. Usually the form stands by itself=*tataḡ* 'thereupon'; *tasma-* only in *tasmārtha* 'for that reason'.

GEN. *taṣa, tasya*, with suffix *-emi*: *taṣemi* 'of the very...' 491, 578. Fem. *taya*: *tae* 415, *tayā* 383.

LOC. The Loc. seems to be in *te* in the phrases *te bhumaṁmi...eṣvari huda* (222) 586, *te masu ṣaṭaṁmi* 'in that vineyard'; cf. 571, 572, 582, 587, 654, 715. In the phrase *taṁ kalaṁmi*, which occurs frequently, *taṁ* may either be abbreviated out of the Loc. \**taṁmi* or it may be a compound=*tatkāle*, which is more probable. Compare also *taṁ karaṁna* 335=*tatkāraṇāt*

(also *tena karaṇṇa*). *tomi*, in 123 *tomi divasaṃmi* is used as the equivalent of the Loc. Sing., otherwise it seems to be = *tava*. *tatra*, *tatreṃi* are used instead of the Loc. Sing., e.g. *tatrimi deṣaṃmi* 55, *tatreṃi rājaṃmi* 40.

PL. NOM. ACC. *te*.

GEN. *teṣa*, *teṣaṃ*, with suffix *-emi*: *teṣemi*. Also *tana* 579, 655. *taṣa* 514 is a mixture of *teṣāṃ* and *tāsāṃ*; in *tana* 655 the ordinary nominal termination is used.

LOC. *teṣu*.

### § 81. *eṣa*-, *eta*-.

SING. NOM. *eṣa* for all genders.

ACC. *eda*. *eda* is rarely used as a Nom.: 140 *eda vikridavo*, 309 *eda aṃna na anidā* 'this corn has not been brought'. In the phrases *yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati* 'When this wedge-seal comes there' (*yahi eda anati lekha*... 272) and *eda vivada*... *pruchi-davo* 'This dispute is to be examined' *eda* always occurs and never *eṣa*. On the other hand in the common phrase heading legal documents, *eṣa lekha (lihitāga, pravamaṇāga)*... *anada dharidavo* 'This document is to be carefully preserved', *eda* does not occur. So perhaps in *eda kilamudra* and *eda vivada* we have a kind of Tatpuruṣa compound, 'A wedge-seal about this (matter), the dispute about this'.

*eṣa* is used as an Acc. in 714 *eṣa Tsuṣeta atra viṣajidemi* 'I have sent this Tsuṣeta there', 721 *eṣa Danutreya atra viṣajidama*.

The pronoun is not inflected in the oblique cases when used attributively, e.g. 52 *eda parikrayade*, 140 *eda karyami*, 255 *eta bhumaṣa*, 431 *eda masuaṣa*, etc.

GEN. Masc. *etaṣa*, *edaṣa* (-*ṣya*); Fem. *etaya* 331.

PL. NOM. ACC. *ede* for all genders (*ede vaḍavi* 212). *eda* is plural at 195 *eda bhradare*. As in the singular *ede* is not inflected when used attributively, e.g. 55 *ede khula uṭana*, 310 *ede maṃnuṣana*, 187 *ede bhradarana*, etc.

GEN. *edeṣa*, *eteṣa*; *edana* occasionally, 113 (?), 187. In 478 *edeṣana* has a double termination.

### § 82. *i*-, *ima*-.

SING. VOC. *iyo*, *yiyo* (printed *śiśo*, see Index Verb.) = *iyam*. This is more probable than *idaṃ* because intervocalic *d* is not

omitted in the dialect. On the initial *yi-* see § 32. It is not common, being used only in the phrase *iyo* (*yiyo*) *pravaṃnaga* 'this document'. *itaṃ* = *idaṃ* is likewise in these phrases *itaṃca lihitiga* 355, etc. The *-ca* is always added without having any meaning of its own.

Acc. *ima* 345. *ṣe śramaṇa ima cora maṃnusa... Larsuaṣa dita* 'The śramaṇa gave this thief man to Larsu' 291, 506. The Acc. is not very common. Like *eda*, *ima* is used as a stem form in apposition with oblique cases: 162 *ima varṣami*, 236 *ima śaradaṃmi*. Also in compounds like *imavarṣi* 'this year's'.

Pl. Nom. Acc. *ime* 399, *yima* 237.

### § 83. *ka-*.

Only found in the Nom. Masc. *ko*, Neut. *ki*, *kiṃ*. It is not found used as an interrogative but only as a relative = 'whoever', e.g. 209 *ko... pačima aṃnyatha icheyati karaṃṇae* 'Whoever afterwards should wish to do otherwise', etc.; 541 *kiṃ tade paḍivati siyati* 'Whatever news shall be from there'.

*kiṃna*, which is Instr. in form, = Pkt. *kiṇa* (cf. Pischel, § 428), is used as a Nom. 609 *kiṃna atra na esati* 'Whoever shall not come there'. It has an interrogative sense in 86 *na taha janami kiṃna pravaṃnaḡa atra giṃnidavo* 'I do not know what document is there to be taken'. This is a case of the usual confusion of Instr. and Nom. Unexplained forms are *kamita*, 169 *kamita maṣa divaṣa ghrida prace anati lekha atra gachiṣati taṃ kala...* 'On whatever month or day a letter of command shall come about the ghee, at that time...' (= *kāmita* 'whatever you please'?), and *kema*, 160 *yo atra kema hasta lekha udaḡa bhiṣaṣa prace... hačhati, taha margidavo* 'Whatever hand-letter may be concerning seed and water, so you must seek'. *kema* seems to = *kači* in the common phrase *yo kači* 'whoever'. Initial *k-* is certainly not different from *k*. All words with initial *k-* are variants of forms with *k* (cf. Index Verb.). *kema* occurs in *Apabhraṃṣa* = *katham*, but that meaning does not suit here.

### § 84. *kaścit ko pi*, etc.

SING. NOM. *kači*, i.e. *kaści*. Once *koci* 437:161 *yo tava kači puna isa agamiṣyati* 'Whoever shall come...'; 437 *yo ca koci pačima kalaṃmi maṃtra uthaveyati* 'Whoever at a future time shall

upset this ruling'. Neut. *kiñci*: 335 *nevi adehi kiñci śrudama* 'We have not heard anything from there'; 106 *kaññakaritra na kiñci kareti* 'He does not do any work'; 260 *puna vivada kiñci siyati* '(If) again there shall be any dispute'; 31 *yeṣa saṃcaya kiñci tatra mañtra siyati* 'Of whom there is doubt (whether) there is any ruling on that point'; 17 *tade kiñci kiñci Maṣḍhiḡe Pḡeya ṣa ca giḍati* 'M. and P. took from that little by little'.

*iñci* in the phrase *na iñci* 'not at all' (also *ma iñci*) is out of *kiñci*. The omission of the *k* is due to its being attached enclitically to *na* (*ma*). On the liability of *k* to be dropped in certain positions of weak stress cf. § 16.

GEN. *kasya ci*: 709 *na kasyaci mañtra asti*.

PL. NOM. *keṇi* with the *ē* erroneously adapted from the singular.

*kiñca*, 377 *na kiñca triṭha* 'nothing has been seen', is perhaps just miswritten for *kiñci*.

*kopi* occurs only 198 *kopi varaḡa syati so...iṣa anidavo*. The text should be read *ko pīvaraḡa syati* 'whichever shall be fat'. *kikama* 'whatever' = \**kiñ kāmam* in the phrase *kikama karaniya syati* 'whatever is to be done'.

### § 85. *ya-*.

SING. NOM. ACC. *yo* for all genders: 136 *yo aṭhovaḡa palayaṃ-naḡa maṃnuṣa siyati* 'What serviceable fugitive man there may be'; 157 *yo mahi bharya iṣa gilani* 'My wife who (was) ill here'; 106 *yo iṣa kaññakaritra vithidaḡa huati* 'The work that has been put off here'; 126 *yo adehi ṣpaṣavaṃne Paḡo iṣa viṣarjidetu* 'The scout Paḡo whom you sent here'; 140 (*aṃna*)...*yo iṣa paṭichi-dama* 'The corn which we received here'. *yo* is also occasionally used for the plural: 271 *yo asmahu atra Caḡodaṃmi kilmeciye, tahi ṣarvabhavena jheniḡa (siy)aṃti* 'The people of our district who are there in Caḡota, let them be under your care by all means'; 165 *yo puna tahi karyani haḇhaṃti* 'What affairs of yours shall be again (=in the future)'.

When followed by *ca* we usually have *yaṃ* instead of *yo*, e.g. 140 *yo aṃna...yaṃ ca aṃna*, 370 *yaṃ ca viṃṇavemi*; 621 *yo puna eḍaṣa putra'dhidara yaṃ ca daṣi* 'What sons and daughters (there are) of him and what slave-girls' (*daṣi* may be either singular or plural).

Occasionally the *ca* has no meaning of its own, e.g. 517 *ede jaṇṇa tade omaḡa isa aṇṣyatu, yaṃ ca teṣa jaṇṇaṣa ṣiṭha, tuo paḍichṣyatu* ' (If) you bring these people here less (than the proper number), what penalty there is for those people, you will receive it'. Apart from this *yaṃ* is only used in the phrases *yaṃ vela, yaṃ kala, yaṃ kalammi*; compare *taṃ kala, taṃ kalammi* (§ 80).

*yo* is probably out of *yam*, rather than *yah* or *yad*, because the *yaṃ* is preserved in the combination *yaṃ ca*, where it was treated as in the interior of a word. Final *-am* usually became *-a*. Exceptions have been noticed in the case of *-vam* (§ 53). Perhaps *am* tended to become *o* after *y* too. Compare *iyo = iyam*. Also we find writings such as *arogiyo* 152, etc. beside *arogi*. On the other hand *svayam* always becomes *sveya* or *sve*.

INSTR. *yena* as an adverb = 'so that': 272 *yena raja karyani na iṃci ṣiṣila bhaviṣyanti*.

GEN. *yasya*.

PL. NOM. *ye* (also *yo* above).

GEN. *yeṣa*.

§ 86. *svayam* appears *sveya, sve* 193, *sveyam eva* 22, *svaya* 709.

From *ātman-* we have *āpane = atmanah*: 139 *tuo āpane acovina paṣidavo* 'You must yourself examine the *acovina* (= ?)'. Transferred to the *a*-declension, *apanasya*: 201 *apanasya kritaḡa* 'your own deeds'. But the passage is fragmentary and the reading doubtful.

The old reflexive *tanū-* 'self' has taken on the meaning of 'own'. The meaning belongs properly to the derivative adjective *tanuṃvāḡa* 'belonging to the self'. The simple *tanu* is used in the same way, e.g. 165 *tuo ṣoṭhamḡa Lpīpeya tanu goṭhade vyoṣiṣasi* 'You, *ṣoṭhamḡa Lpīpeya*, shall pay it from your own farm'. Most usually, however, *tanu* is a noun meaning 'property': 326 *Kamāya ni goṭha grhavaṣa amahu pituṭitamāḡa tanu* 'Kamāya's farm and residence are inherited property of us', etc.

*Tanuvaka* is also found in the inscriptions of N.W. India (Taxila scroll, Kurram). It is preserved in the Dardic languages, e.g. Torwali *tanu* 'own'. Grierson (*Torwali*, § 127) is wrong in explaining it out of *ātman*.

§ 87. Pronouns expressing quantity are *keti*=Pkt. *kettiya* (Pischel, § 153). It is used in relative clauses, e.g. 17 *Maṣḍhiḡe Pḡeya ṣa ca ṣavatha ṣavidavya, keti edeṣa siyaṃti* 'M. and P. must swear on oath (stating) how many they have'; 73 *eda palḡi, keti viṭhidaḡa siyati... iṣa viṣajidavo* 'This tax, however much has been held back, must be sent here'.

*eti*=*ettiya*: 439 *pruchidavo bhutartha eṣa eti draṃḡa dharidae siyati* 'It must be enquired whether he has really held so many offices'. Skt. *tati* occurs once in the compound *tativarsi*: 570 *garbhini uṭi bhaḡena kirsoṣa uṭi tativarṣi Śaraṣenaṣa vyoṣidavo* 'Śaraṣena must pay back, in place of the pregnant female camel, a *kirsoṣa* (=?) female camel of as many years old'. With *-dṛs* are formed *etriṣa*, *ketriṣa* and *yadṛṣa*. The *e-* instead of Sanskrit *i-* is the usual thing in Middle Indian (Pischel, § 121).

§ 88. Adjectives declined pronominally are *aṃṇā*: Gen. Sing. *aṃṇāṣa* or *aṃṇiṣya*, Pl. *aṃṇē*. Gen. *aṃṇesa*, *aṃṇeṣana* 690 (cf. *edeṣana*, § 81), *aṃṇāno va* 590, *aṃṇamamṇāna* 357='one another'; *pareṣa* 509, 713; *parosḡparasya*, *parosḡparena* 'one another'; *eka*, *ekisya* 272; *eke* 'some' 468; *ṣarvi* 'all'; *-i* is always used, not *-e*, in the Nom. Pl. Gen. Pl. *sarvina* 431-2. The same form occurs in the Wardak vase. Instr. *sarvehi* 702.

## NUMERALS

§ 89. Figures are usually employed, but now and again the numerals, sometimes as well as the figures. The numerals that occur are:

1. *eka*, i.e. probably *ekka* as in Prakrit because the *k* is always written and not *ḡ* (except 709). In the plural *eke* means 'some'. The ordinal is both *prathama* (*pratama*) and *paḍama*, just as *prati-* and *paḍi* are both used.

2. *dui*, *dvi*, *due*, *tui*, *du*=Skt. *dve*; as in the Veda it is disyllabic (cf. § 43). Ordinal: *biti* and *dviti*. *diguna* 'twofold' with irregular treatment of *dvi-* (§ 43).

3. *tre*, *treya*=*ṭrayaḡ*. Gen. Pl. *trina*; *tre-* and not *tri-* is used in compounds: *trevarṣaga* 'three years old'. Ordinal: *triti*.



4. *catu* and *caura*. The omission of *t* in the latter form is unusual (§ 19). *cohura* seems to be '4' in 637 *aṃṇa paśava* 4 *cohura*, but the passage is difficult. Ordinal: *caturtha*. The *t* is never omitted in this form.

5. *pañca*, *pañcama*.

6. *ṣo*. *ṣo* is perhaps out of *ṣva*, cf. Av. *xšvaš*, etc., like *ṣoṭhaṃga* and *ṣvaṭhaṃga* (§ 7). Otherwise we should expect -*a* as in the other Prakrits. The ordinal is *ṣodhama* 110, 637. The *dh* may be just written for *t* (§ 15), in which case it is a new formation instead of *ṣaṣṭha*-, made by adding -*tama* to *ṣo*.

7. *sata*, *satama*. 8. *aṭha*, *aṭhama*. 9. *no*, *navama*.

10. *daśa*, *daśama*, *daśaṃmi* (ordinal locative).

11. *ekadaśa* 341 (ordinal).

12. *badāśa*, *badāṣi* 599 (ordinal).

13. *trodasa* = *trayodaśa*. Otherwise in Middle Indian we have *te* = *tre* (*terasa*).

15. *pañcadaśa* 489. As an ordinal: *pañcadaśaṃmi* 599 (locative).

18. *aṭhadaśami* (ordinal locative) 354.

20. *viṣati*. 30. *triśa*. 40. *capariśa*.

42. *du capariśa*. 50. *pañcaśa*. 70. *satati*.

90. *novati*, with *o* instead of *a* borrowed from *no* '9'.

100. *śata*. 110. *daśutara śata*. 1000. *sahasra*.

## ADVERBS

§ 90. Any adjective may be used as an adverb: *ṣigra*, *cavala* 'quickly', *piḍita* 'taking pains', *samuha*, *dura*, *bhutartha* 'really'.

As elsewhere the instrumental is used in making adverbial expressions out of nouns: *adhamena* 'illegally', *śarvabhavena* 'altogether'. There is further a tendency to apply this termination to indeclinables compounded with a preposition, e.g. *anupurvena* 'in front', *ṣavistrena* 140. The correct Sanskrit forms are *anupurvam* *ṣavistaram*, etc., but later and incorrect texts reflect the state of things in the popular language, e.g. *Matsya*. P. 148. 65. *sāvadhānena*; regularly in Apabhraṃśa, e.g. *savisesem*, *savinaena*, *saviyappem*, etc. in the *Bhavisatta-kaha*. As a result



of this *sa* appears practically as an independent word, e.g. *tahi sa madue bharyae putra dhidarehi isa agamdavo* 'You must come here with your mother, wife and children'. Similarly *yatha dhāmena=yathādharmam*. Whence *yatha* also is used almost like a preposition: 40 *yatha purva rayadvāri mahatvana vibhāsitaḡena* 'According to the former decision of the magistrates at the king's court'.

§ 91. Individual Adverbs. *atra* 'here'. *avaśa=avaśyam*; *anada*='carefully'. It is common in certain set phrases: *eda vivada anada pruchidavo* 'This dispute is to be carefully gone into'; *avi sphaḡa jivida paricaḡena anada raḡhidavya* 'Watch is to be kept carefully even at the expense of your life'; *eḡa pravamaḡa anada dharidavo* 'This document is to be preserved carefully'. In the last-mentioned phrase *suha* occurs as a synonym (569, 593) and *suha=su* 'well' (compare 419 *suha vikrida* with 587 *suvikrida*). For the etymology cf. the Index. *ahuno=adhunā*. The *o* might be due to an original particle *u*, i.e. \**adhunā u*. *adehi* 'from there'; for the suffixed *-hi* cf. forms in Apabhraḡśa like *annettahi=anyatra*, *ettahi=itaḡ*. *amnyatha* 'otherwise'. *amḡa* is used as a kind of particle introducing sentences='again, another thing'. *ajakra*='up till to-day'. *itu* and *imade* 'hence', *isa* 'here'. The word occurs also in Kharoḡṡṡhi inscriptions from N.W. India, instead of *ia*, *iha* in Aśoka. Aśoka *ia* (S. and M. 6), i.e. *iya* for *iha*, became *iḡa* as described in § 17. *upari* 'above'. *tatra* 'there'. *paḡa* 'behind'. *patama*='back' (i.e. \**pattama*, cf. Torwali *pat* 'back' out of \**patta*-). *patena* occurs twice in the phrase *patena stavidavo*: 58 *teḡa jaḡnaḡa sa stri tatiyemi patena stavidavya Puḡo Lḡpipeyaḡa ca nidavo* (cf. 63). The woman had been killed, so it cannot mean simply 'restore'. We must translate then: 'By those people that woman is to be made recompense for to such an extent (i.e. to the amount of her value) and (it) is to be taken by Puḡo and Lḡpipe.' *puna*, *punu=punaḡ*. *praḡha* 'forthwith'= \**praḡṡṡham*. *prata=prātar*. *bahi*, *bahiyade* 'outside'. *bhuya* 'again', also *bhui*, *buo* 377, and *bhiyo*=Pali *bhiyyo* 579. *suḡha* 'well' (*suḡṡṡhu*), but it must be out of \**suḡṡṡham*. *sudha*='only', e.g. 272 *sudha nagara raḡhidavya, avasiṡṡhe raji jaḡna oḡidavya*

'Only the city is to be kept, the rest of the people of the kingdom are to be abandoned'.

The suffix *-mi*, *-emi* is found commonly in adverbs (also after genitives of pronouns: *tasyemi*, *teṣemi*). Examples: *tatreṃi*, *atreṃi*, *iṣemi*, *tatiyemi* (see above under *patena*), *imthunami* 'so' beside *imthu*.

## PREPOSITIONS

§ 92. *a = ā*. 419, 549 *ko a pačima kalammi codeyati*. Against the explanation *ko ca* (*Kharoṣṭhi Inscr. Index Verb.*) *c* is never otherwise omitted. On the analogy of *acamta*, *yava* (see below), *ā* would take a locative, not an ablative, in this dialect. *agratu* (*ta*) = *agrataḥ* only 519, with the same meaning as *purathida* (see below). *Sucamaṣa agratu*, *yusme agratu*; *yusme* only occurs here, and what case is meant is uncertain (cf. § 79).

*acamta*. 253, 367 *acamta Khotamnammi* 'as far as Khotan'.

*abhyadara*. 291 *abhyadara kuhaniyammi anisyamti* 'They will bring into the capital'.

*karamna*. 207 *ima Aputaṣa karamna iṣa ichitamti marganae* 'They wanted to search this (man) on account of Aputa'.

*pača*. 144 *taḍitaḡade pača* 'after the beating'.

*patama* = 'back'. 64 *camkura Vajeṣa imade amtaḡi uṭa 4 Samarsade patama nikhalidavo Samarsade uṭa 4 dadavo Śunade patama nikhalidavo Śunade uṭa 4 dadavo Piṣaliyade patama nikhalidavo* 'From here the *camkura* Vajeṣa has 4 *amtaḡi* camels, they are to be sent back from Samarsa (and) 4 camels are to be given from Samarsa, (these) are to be sent back from Snuna (and) 4 camels are to be given from Snuna, (these) are to be sent back from Piṣali'. The base \**patta* is common in the modern Dardic languages, cf. Torwali *pat* 'back, behind'.

*puratha*, *purathida* 'in the presence of' (as witnesses). 322 *eṣa lihitaḡa cojhboana Śitaka* (Yi-) *Vuktoṣa ca puratha* 'This was written in the presence of the *cojhba*'s Ś. and V.'; 592 *eṣa lihitaḡa puratha mahatvana* 'In the presence of the magistrates'.

*paride* 'from'. 11 *edaṣa Apiṣae nama uneyaḡa prace Kuṅgeyaṣa paride vivada* 'He has a dispute about an adopted girl called Apiṣae (adopted) from Kuṅge'. *paride*, which is very common always, takes the genitive and not the ablative.

*prace* 'concerning' = *pratyayam* takes either the stem or the genitive, e.g. 582 *Yipiya ni bhuma prace* 'concerning Yipi's land' and 579 *Moḡata ni bhumaṣa praceya*. The word is borrowed into Saka in the form *prracai*. *bhaḡena* 'in place of', 'on behalf of': 30 *yatha Apiḡoṣa bhaḡena Tseḡeyammi Tuṣana thida taṣa bhaḡena Khotammi Kanasaga thida* 'That Tuṣana stayed at Tseḡe instead of Apiḡo and in place of him, Kanasaga of Khotan'. It is also used without a case meaning 'as a substitute': 19 *iṣa stri Tamaṣyanae bhaḡena Yitaṣenaṣa khulona* (=°ana) *vaṃti thida* 'Here the woman T. stayed with the herds of Y. as a substitute' (or 'taking her turn').

*yava* 'as far as'. 214 *yava Khemaṃmi*, 506 *yāva Tatiḡa Bhatraṣa ca agamanammi* 'Until the arrival of Tatiḡa and Bhatra'.

It does not take the locative in the expressions *yava ajakra divaṣa*, *yava jivo*.

*vaṃti* = *upānte*. It is borrowed into Saka in the form *bendā*: 5 *khulana vaṃti thidavo* 'Must stay with the herds, in charge of the herds'; 621 *eṣa... Aśoḡa ni kilmece Catoṡeṣa vaṃti bala simaya āsiṣyati* 'He used to dwell when young next door (*śīmāyām*) to Catoṡe who belonged to the district of Aśoka'; 39 *teṣa vaṃti unida vardhida* 'She was brought up with them'. It is frequently used in expressions of legal transactions: 579 *tivira Raṃṣotsaṣa vaṃti bhuma vikrida* 'He sold land to the scribe Raṃṣotsa', etc.; 546 *ogu vāsu Bhimaṣenaṣa vaṃti garahiṣyama* 'We will complain in front of the *ogu vāsu* Bhimaṣena'. *vaṃti* is more frequently used of the person against whom an action is taken: 212 *ahuno ede vaḡavi praceya edaṣa vaṃti parihaṣamti* 'Now they are making a claim against him about these mares'. Further examples of legal transactions: 551 *eda kuḡi Pḡiṣena Bhaṣḡhaṣa vaṃti parivaṭida* 'Pḡiṣa made an exchange with Bhaṣḡha of this girl (for another)'; 24 *yatha edaṣa dajha Sarpigāṣa vaṃti Caule aṣpa rna nikhalati* 'That Caule has a horse out on loan with his slave Sarpigā (or 'wants to take away a horse he has lent to...'). Frequently with the phrase *asaṃna gam*, which seems to mean 'take possession of': 425 *eka bhitṡyaṣa vaṃti nasti danagrahana asaṃna na [gaṃdavo]* 'There shall be no giving or taking one from another and no assumption of

ownership'; cf. 260, 436, etc. *ṣamaḥo*, *ṣamao* = 'with'; compare Apabhraṃśa *samau* = *samatas*. The omission of the *t* is unusual (§ 19), but might occur in a word like this which was weakly stressed. In that case the *h* must be regarded as simply indicating a hiatus: 326 *tena ṣamao*, 164 *ṣada storena jaṃna ṣamaḥo* 'With our beasts and our men'. *sardha*, *sadha* (*s°*), the usual word for 'with', may be used with the instrumental, genitive, or simple stem. In the plural it is not found with the instrumental. It may be placed before or after its noun, more often after. Examples: 82 *sardha valaḡena* and *valaḡena sardha* 'with a guard', 425 *kala Cuḡapaṣa sardha*, 516 *Khotaniyana sardha*, 632 *bharya sadha*, 83 *Naṃtaśṛma ṣadha*, etc.

## VERB

§ 93. The personal endings are the same as in Prakrit except that side by side with the *-ṣi* of the 2nd singular there is a form in *-tu* which is used in all the three tenses, e.g. 399 *sutha na laṃcaḡa karetu yadi kālihari karetu* 'Certainly you do not do rightly if you make a quarrel'; 439 *puna ahuno rayaka gavi picavidetu* 'Now again you have put the royal cattle in his charge'; 114 *puna ahuno bhuya palḡi omaḡa viṣajīṣyatu awaṣa tanu goṭhade puna vyoṣisatu* '(If) again now you send the tax less (than the proper amount) certainly you shall pay from your own farm'. The forms occurring are:

PRESENT. *aroḡetu* 'you are well', *ichatu*, *karetu*, *choretu* 134, *darsavetu* 761, *denatu*, *picavetu* 439, *prasavetu*, *margetu* 399, *viṃṇavetu*, *viṣajetu* 247, *ṣayatu* 'you seize, take'.

PAST. *achimnidetu* 714, *ukastetu* 320 'went away', *picavidetu* 439, *lihitetu* 157, *viṣarjitetu* 126, 399.

FUTURE. *agachiṣatu* 634, *dāṣyatu* 507, *aniṣyatu* 517, 554, *oḡiṣatu* 'you will let go, allow', *kariṣyatu*, *nivartiṣyatu* 634, *paḡdichiṣyatu* 517, *paribuḡiṣatu*, *labhiṣatu* 635, *vikriṣaṃtu* 633, *vithiṣyatu* 165 'you will keep back', *viṣajīṣyatu* 68, 145, 714, *vyoṣiṣatu* 714.

From a survey of the passages in which these forms occur it can be seen that they are always used of the actions of the person to whom the letter is addressed.

The *-tu* is probably taken from the 2nd person of the pronoun.

§ 94. The middle is not used except occasionally artificially: *rucate* 585 = S. *rocate* or Pali *ruccati*, *vaṃtade* = *vandate* 669.

The passive is quite rare. It is used commonly in *śrūyati* 'it is heard' and *vucati* 'it is said'. The only other examples are *pariniyaṃti* 399, *lihyati* 224, *niyati* 364 (possibly optative = *neyati*), *nikhalyati* 743.

§ 95. Outside *asti* the only remnant of athematic conjugation is *śakoma* 161, 646, which is used as a 1st person singular (= *śaknomi*). *asti* is used as a strong affirmative and *nasti* as a strong negative: 315 *yava asti siyati* 'As much as there is'; 272 *yaśa asti st(o)ra hañhati tade nikkhalidavo* 'Of whom there shall be a horse from him it is to be taken'; 714 *yo asti palpi kareti, yo nasti dura nikkhalidavo* 'He who pays his tax (well and good), he who does not must be removed'; *nasti*: 124 *sañhi iśa nasti hutamti* 'There were no witnesses here', cf. 161, 166, 326, 431.

§ 96. Verbs in *-ati*. It is not possible to tell whether verbs like *janati* keep the long *ā* or have been fully adapted to the *bhū* class; *janati* may be either *jānāti* or \**jānati*.

Of interest is *denati* 'give' for *deti*, which also occurs. The *na* is probably borrowed from the verb with the opposite meaning *grhṇāti*.

*sthā* makes its present *thiyaṃti* 358, compare Pali *patiṭṭhiyati* 'stands against, resists'.

The old perfect *āha* receives the terminations of the present *ahati* 345 'says'.

*bhavati* regularly became *hoti*. But more common is *hoati*, which has been readapted to the system.

List of forms: *avajaśi* = *āpadyase*, *ichati*, *gameṣati* (*gaveṣate*), *garahati*, *codamti*, *jivama*, *naṃdati*, *namasyati*, *naśyati*, *naśati*, *nikasati*, *nikhasati* 'goes away', 'is spent', *paḍichati*, *paripruhati*, *parihaṣati* 'claims' (*pari-bhāṣ*), *prchati*, *bhavati*, *marati*, *mryati*, *maṃṇāti*, *margaṃti*, *rucati*, *lahati* (*labhate*), *likhami*, *lihati*, *vakoṣaṃti*, *vardhati*, *vahaṃti*, *vijaṃti* (*vidhyanti*), *saṃcāvati*, *saṃtiṣaṃti* (*saṃ-diś*), *harami*, *haradi*.

§ 97. Verbs in *-eti*. As in the rest of the Prakrits *-eti* is no longer a specifically causative suffix, its place having been taken

by *-aveti*. The regular terminations are *-emi*, *-eṣi*, *-eti*, *-ema*, *-eṃti*, but fuller forms also occur, presumably in imitation of Sanskrit: Sing. 1. *viṃṇaveyaṃmi* 663, *preṣeyami* 269; Sing. 3. *preṣeyati* 25, etc., *sampreṣeyati* 288; Plur. 1. *samṇaveyama* 288, *viṃṇaveyama* 259. These forms are identical in spelling (but not in pronunciation; the *e* must have been *ē*) with optatives formed from the same verbs and can only be distinguished by the context.

*kṛ*, as usually in Prakrit, is conjugated in this class: *karemi*, *kareṣi*, *kareṃdi*. Beside *janami*, *janaṣi*, we find *janemi*, *janeṣi*, as occasionally in Prakrit (Pischel, § 510).

*ārogya* makes a denominative in this class: *arogemi*, *-etu*, *-ema*; also *-ama* 721, *-eṃti*; *arogyosmi* 399 is an attempt to Sanskritise it, like *gatosmi*, etc. for *gademi*.

Further examples: *agaseṃti* 'they carry off' 304, *oḍemi*, etc. 'let go, allow', *choreṃti*, *taḍeti*, *dhareti*, *nikhalemi* 'I remove, take out', *poḍeti* 'rubs', *preṣemi*, *viṃṇaveti*, *viṃṇavema* 164, 702, *viyoṣeti* 'pays', *viṣajeti*, *viheḍeti* 'oppresses, worries', *sampreṣeti*, *sthavēṃti*.

Cases of confusion between the two classes are rare: *saṃtiṣemi* 127 (*saṃtiṣaṃti* 703) = *saṃ* + *diṣ*, *nikhalati* 24, *nikhalamana* 189; *viṃṇavatu* 292. Probably the vowel-stroke has been omitted by carelessness.

§ 98. Practically no imperative forms occur. Outside *hotu* there is only *davyatu*, 3rd passive, 399 *ma imci vṛtaḡa uṭa davyatu* 'Let not an old camel be given'. *hotu* (*hutu*) is common and is used for both singular and plural, e.g. 10 [*ṣarvi*] *pruchitae hotu* 'Let all be asked' and 244 *avi Pḡeca uṭa 3 nita avasa jheniḡa hutu* 'And P. brought 3 camels, by all means let them be under your care'.

The reason for the practical loss of the imperative is that its place has been taken by passive constructions with gerundives in *-avya*.

§ 99. Future. *seṭ* forms are practically universal. The only *aniṭ* forms are *śaṭhyami*, *śaṭhe* 311, *stasyati* and *dasyati* (also *deyiṣati*).

The *a* of *iṣyati* is sometimes marked long, so that possibly

it had been lengthened on the analogy of the optative: *asiṣyāti* 621 (*ās-*), *gachiṣyāti* 223, *dasyāti* 677.

Beside *-ami* of the 1st singular there are a few forms in *-a*: *gameṣiṣa* 372, *parimargiṣya* 368. They are not = Śaur. *-iṣam* but mistakes; cf. *bhaviṣya* 109 = *bhaviṣyati*.

The ending *-iṣyati* (*iṣati*) is usually added to the present base, but we find *gamiṣati* beside *gachiṣyati*. There is no distinction as a rule between verbs in *-eti* and verbs in *-ati*, e.g. *anaviṣyati* from *anaveti* 'commands', *oḍiṣyati* from *oḍeti* 'lets go'. At the same time forms corresponding to *-ayiṣyati* are found. These are no doubt artificial: *preṣeyiṣyasi* 399 (*preṣiṣama* 288), *śodheyiṣyati* 'will pay' 635, *śodheṣyaṃdi* 272.

*nī* and *dā* make their future in various ways: *aniṣati* 159, *aniṣyami* 696, *aneṣyati* 125, 399, *niyiṣyati* 362, *dasyati*, *deyiṣyaṃti* 182, *dheṣati* 348.

*haṇḥati*, = Pkt. *acchāi*, is generally used as an optative, more rarely as a future: 352 *niṇe haṇḥati* 'There will be a decision'.

Further examples: *ichiṣyati*, *kariṣyami*, *-atu*, *-ati*, *-ama*, *-aṃti*; *gachiṣati*, *garahiṣyama*, *giṃniṣyasi*, *chiṃniṣyati*, *choriṣyaṣi*, *janiṣyami*, *thaviṣyati*, *nikaliṣyati*, *-iṣati*, *nivartiṣyati*, *paḍichiṣama*, *patiṣyati*, *paribuṣiṣasi*, *-tu* (*pari-budh*), *pariṣamiṣati* 130 (= ?), *picaviṣyati*, *pranaṣiṣyati*, *pruchiṣyati*, *preṣiṣama*, *bhaviṣyati*, *maṣiṣyati*, *raṇḥiṣyati*, *labhiṣyati*, *lihiṣyaṃti*, *leṣiṣaṃti* (*śleṣaya-* ? cf. § 49), *vaviṣati* 'will sow', *viṣajiṣasi*, *vyoṣiṣati*, *saṃghaliṣyati* 'will collect', *sarajiṣaṃti* 'will agree'.

§ 100. The optative has always the primary endings: (*-eyami*), (*-eyaṣi*), (*-eyati*), (*-eyama*), (*-eyatha*), (*-eyaṃti*). The long *ā* is sometimes written: *gr̥heyāti* 320, *coteyāti* 582, *bhaveyāti* 678, *deyāṃti* 437. From the last example it appears that contrary to the usual Prakrits *-ā-* can occur before the group *-nt-* in this dialect.

*praviṣayati* 489 is a mistake for *praviṣeyati*. *haṇḥati* is to be classified as an optative. In the majority of cases it occurs in subordinate clauses with *yadi*, etc., where the optative is the rule. Parallel with *syati*: 160 *yo atra hasta lekha udaḡa bhiṣaṣa prace syati athava levistarena anati lekha haṇḥati* 'What hand-



letter may be there concerning water and seed or what letter of instruction with a detailed account there may be'.

Other examples: *anuvarteyati*, *avarajeyaṃti* (*aparādh-*), *ichiyati* (cf. § 1), *uthaveyati*, *-yaṃti*, *kareyaṣi*, *-ati*, *coteyati*, *taḍeyati*, *deyati* and *deyeyaṃti* 345 (cf. *dey-iṣyati*), *prabhaveyati* 437, *praśameyaṣi* 373, *bhaveyati*, *maṃtreyaṣi* 100, *viśarjeyasi* 696, *veteyati*, *sajeyati*.

As in the future no difference is made between verbs in *-eti* and verbs in *-ati*.

§ 101. Present participles are rare. There is a tendency to generalise the middle forms in *-māna*, as in later Ardha-Magadhi. Examples are *achiṇṇamana* 'encroaching on', *gachamana*, (*kathamana* 514), *karemana*, *nikhalamana*. *vartamana* is used as a kind of noun in the phrase *yahi Khema Khotanṇade vartamana siyati* 'If there be any news (events, happenings) from Khema and Khotan', = *pravṛti*, *paḍivati*. The participle is used to make a circumscribed tense with *siyati*: 235 *pruchidavo bhudārtha ṣe miṣi eḍaṣa tanuṣāga siyati anahetu* *Suḍika achiṇṇamana siyati* 'You must enquire whether this *miṣi*-(land) really belongs to him (and whether) *Suḍika* is encroaching on it, (taking if off him) on account of a debt (or without cause *ana*=*a*, *an-* ?)'; cf. *nikhalamana siyaṃti* 189.

The active participle is only used in certain stereotyped phrases and in words that have become adjectives, e.g. *jivaṃdaḡa*, Fem. *jivaṃti*, 'alive'; *jayaṃta*, *jeyaṃta* 'victorious' (a title of kings). Used participially are *saṃta*: 482 *purva dhāma vibhaktaḡa yena samula vṛccha chinṇaṃti tatra saṃta vṛccha varidavo aṣpa aviṃdama* 'The former law was that when they cut down trees with the roots—the trees which are there (still)—they must be stopped, a horse is the recompense', and *janaṃda*, frequently in the phrase *janaṃda bhavidavo* 'you must know'.

§ 102. Indeclinable Participle. The regular dialectical form is in *-ti*. It is not frequent: *śruniti*: 341 *ede śruniti Piṣaliyade iṣa viṣajidavo* 'These, having heard them are to be sent here from *Piṣali*'. *apruchiti*: 39 *eḍeṣa dajhi Cimikae ṇama*, *eḍeṣa ana apruchiti dhitu Kapḡeyaṣa dajhana uniti dīta* 'They have a slave-woman called *Cimikae*; without asking their permission (*ājñām*



*apṛṣṭvā*) she gave her daughter to slaves of Kapge as a foster-child' (cf. 492). *vajiti*: 376 *eda lekha vajiti cavala kara* (...) *kartavo* 'Having read this letter, immediately... is to be done' (cf. 152, 725). *palayiti*: 491 *adehi palayiti agada* 'Having fled from there he came' (cf. 540).

The form was characteristic of the North-West. It is found in the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p.: *upajiti* C<sup>vo</sup> 44, *pramayiti* A<sup>2</sup> 3, *parivajeti* A<sup>2</sup> 8. Also in the two North-Western versions of Aśoka.

It is presumably out of Vedic *-tvī*, although this is not the regular treatment of the group *-tv-* (§ 43).

Apart from literary pieces (*kṛtva* 647, *sampreṣitva* 204, *Khatva*, *pitva* 565, which is influenced by the Literary Language) the only forms in *-tva* that occur are *śrutva* 399, *bhudva* 49, where the reading and interpretation of the whole text are difficult, and *daditva*, which occurs twice in the same phrase: 345 and 437 *yo ca koci... aṃñātha icheyānti karaṃnae... muha codana apramana ca bhaveyati taṃḍa prapṭaṃ ca deyaṃti catuvarṣaḡa aśpa paṃcaśa prahara sarva eta daṃḍa daditva avaśe ca eda yatha uvari lihitāḡa*. Here an indeclinable participle hardly seems to suit the context and we have perhaps an example of the Vedic gerundives in *-tva* (cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, § 581). 'Whoever shall want to make it otherwise, attacking (the agreement) again shall have no authority, and they shall give the ensuing penalty (namely) a 4-year-old horse and fifty blows, all this penalty is to be given, and certainly (the agreement) shall remain as written above.'

With *-ya* are formed *uvadae* = *upādāya* 'starting from', and *utiśa*, *udiśa*, which presumably = *uddiśya*, although its usage does not tally with Sanskrit and Prakrit. It is used not with an accusative (*taṃ uddiśya* 'with reference to him'), but by itself at the beginning of clauses, apparently meaning 'with reference to this matter', e.g. 159 *adehi tusya mahahvana paride na kiṃci śrunaṃmi udiśa ahuno śadavida Kolpiṣaḡa hastāṃmi vacari 2 prahidemi* 'From there I hear nothing from you and the high officials, with reference to that (fact), (considering that), I have sent 2 *vacari* ('jars'?) in the hand of the *śadavida* Kolpiṣa', etc. etc.

*vacitu*: 399 *yahi eṣa stovaṃna atra eṣati lekha vacitu, tomi*

*stovamṇaṣa haste uṭa iṣa prahadavya*. It may be explained either as a passive *vacitu*=*vācyatu* for *vācyatām* (cf. *davyatu* below and § 98) or as an indeclinable participle like the Ardha-Māgadhi forms in *-ittu* (*chindittu*, *jinittu*, etc.). 'Having read the letter, thereupon the camel is to be sent here in the hand of Stovamṇa.'

§ 103. **Infinitive.** The infinitive is regularly in *-amṇae* = *-anāya* (*gamañāya*, etc.). The form is also found in the North-West versions of Aśoka, e.g. *kṣamanaye* S. 13 (where the other versions have *-tave*). The forms are always made from the present tense, not from the root as in the corresponding Sanskrit verbal nouns, e.g. *giṇnamṇae* 'to take', not \**grahamṇae*. Examples: *ayamṇae* 'to come' (*ayida* 'came'), *karamṇae*, *-aya*, *-aye*, *asadhamṇae* 'to settle' (*sad*), *ukasamṇae* 'to depart', *kāmavamṇae*; *kiṣamṇae*, *kriṣamṇae*, *kriṣivamṇae*, all meaning to 'plough', *khayamṇae* 'to eat', *gachamṇae*, *garahamṇae*, *chimnamṇae*, *taḍamṇae*, *thavamṇae*, *deṣamṇae*, *dhamanaye* 'to tame, break', *dharamṇae*, *nivartanae*, *nihamñamṇae* 331 = *nihananae* 586, *paribhuchanae* = *paribhuñj-*, *paśamṇae* 'to inspect', *pica-vamṇae*, *prichamṇaye*, *preṣamṇae*, *baṇnanae* (*bandh-*), *pivamṇae* 586 (*pi-bandh-*), *maramṇaya* 'to kill' (*mareti*) 420, *amaramṇae* 'not to die' 703, *marganae* 'to seek', *rañhamṇae*, *vikrinamṇae*; beside *vikrinamṇae* occurs *vikranamṇae* 586-7, 590, 592, *vyoṣamṇae* 'to pay', *viṣarjanae*, *śrunamṇae*, *śgabhnamṇae* (= *skabh-*, cf. § 49), *sajavanae* 'to make ready', *śavamṇae* 'to swear', *aniyanaye* 'to bring', *thiyamṇae* 'to stay', *deyamṇae*.

Forms in *-tu* = *-tum* are very rare: *kartu*, *agantu* 646 and probably *viṣajitu*, 262 *dviti vara imade anati kilamudra atra gachati adehi hastagada viṣajitu na imci iṣa agachati* 'A second time a wedge-seal of command goes from here (with orders) to send him here under arrest, he does not come'. Compare *viṣarjanae* in 4 *anadi lekha gada adehi uṭa* 4 *Calmadanammi viṣarjanae*.

The infinitive is used as a verbal noun in 376 *sajavanae pīce* 'about getting ready'.

§ 104. **Causative.** The causative is in *-aveti* = *āpayati* as in the rest of the Prakrits. The long *ā* is written in *śavāvitavya* 358 'to be caused to swear'. Examples of causative verbs are

*aḡasavida* ( $\bar{a} + \sqrt{\text{kas}}$  'to carry off'), *anaviṣyati*, *anāvidavo* 'command', *asavidavo* (from  $\sqrt{\text{ās}}$ , 'to settle somebody'), *uthaveti*, *uthaveyati*, *thavita*, *darśaveti*, *dauidagēna* 'with a gift' 749, *nivartavidavo* 'cause to turn back', *bandhavita*, *varjavidavo*, *viṃṇaveti*, *vithavēsi*, *vithavida* = 'keep back', *vyavasthavidagā*, *sajavamṇae*, *sthavemti*.

*pariḥinavitamti* 'They caused to perish, used up' 272 is formed from the past participle passive.

From *karma* a denominative is made by this suffix *kāmaveti*, meaning 'to cause to work'. It also means simply 'to work' in 107 (cf. Pischel, § 559).

### PAST TENSE

§ 105. As in the modern Indo-Aryan languages and in Persian, a new past tense is formed by attaching the personal endings to the past participle passive. The paradigm from *dā* 'to give' would be:

<i>ditemi</i>	<i>dītama</i>
<i>diteṣi</i>	<i>dītetha</i>
<i>dita</i>	<i>ditaṃti</i>

The 3rd singular has no termination, the simple stem being used both for the masculine and the feminine 'he or she gave'. The forms in *-ta* are practically never used as participles, their place being taken by the extended forms in *-aḡa*, in the feminine by *-i* (cf. § 74). The development must have started from the intransitive verbs, *gataḡ + asmi* would give *gademi* in this dialect (§ 12). In the plural *gatāḡ + sma* would give *gadama*. These are the forms that actually occur, and this difference of vowel in the singular and plural shows that we are actually dealing with the nominative singular and plural of the participle and the verb 'to be' and not simply the addition of personal endings borrowed from the present. This is the only place where a trace of the old nominative singular in *-e* is preserved. The 3rd singular *dita* represents the neuter singular, to judge from the form *-u* in the Khotan dialect (661), where *-u < am*. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 432.

The result of this (purely phonetic) development into *-emi*, *-eṣi* was that these terminations were felt as being the same as

those of the present in *-emi*, *-eṣi*, and the transition into a purely verbal form was facilitated. In the 2nd plural *-etha* is due entirely to analogy instead of *-astha*. Forms in *-atha* probably never occur. The only example is *kiṭaṭha* 213 which is doubtful. The 3rd plural is always in *-aṃti* for *-āḥ saṃti*. Curiously enough forms in *-eṃti* never occur. There seems to be a rule that the anusvāra is never written when *d* takes the place of *t* in the past participle, e.g. *aitaṃti* and *ayidati* 'they came'. This is more likely to be a habit of writing than really phonetic, especially since we know that the people did not distinguish between *t* and *d* (§ 19). Compare *ida ca* 573 for the usual *itaṃ ca* (§ 82).

§ 106. The writers seem to have been aware of the origin of these forms because in the 1st person singular we find *-osmi* occasionally instead of *-emi*. It is of course Sanskritising. It is usually found in intransitive forms: *śadosmi* 'I am pleased' beside *śademi*, *prihitosmi* 'I am pleased' 140, *gatosmi* 146. In a transitive verb only *prahidasmi*=*prahidemi* 'I sent' 316. The same thing happens to the denominative *arogemi* 'I am well', for which *arogyosmi* appears in 317.

§ 107. As in the future (§ 99) the past participle and its derivatives are as a rule formed from the present with the help of the vowel *i*. But a greater number of original forms are preserved. Often both forms occur. Examples: *anatemi* 'I commanded' (also *anavideṣi*), *abomata*=*abhyavamata*, in the phrase *abomata kar-* 'disregard, disobey', *ukasta* 'went away' (also *ukasita*), *upaṃna*=*utpanna*, *kiṭa*, *kiḍa*, *kṛta* and *kata* from *kṛ*; *giṭa* also *giṇṇita* 'took' (also *grahita*), *dṛṭha* (*tṛṭha*) 'saw', *thida*, *naṭha* 'perished', *nikasta* 'went away', *nikraṃta*, *nigada*, *pariḥiṃna*, *parimugta* 702 (written for *parimukta* which is Sanskrit; the real dialectical form occurs in *mutaṃti* 'they released' 63), *praviṭha*, *prahita* 'sent' (\**pradhita* rather than *prahita* from *prahinoti* on account of *prahataṇṇa*=*pradhāṭaṇṇa*; perhaps the two verbs have been confused), *prasṛtaṃti*, *bhuta*, *mṛta*, *ladha*, *vakuṭha* (also *vakoṣida*), *vikrida* 'sold' (also *vikrinita*), *vināṭha*, *viśvasta*, *vyochiṃna* 506 (usually *vyochiṃnita*),

*śruta*, *śata* 'swore', *śiṭha* (a noun = 'punishment'), *śudha*, *saṃydhā* 'flourishing', *stīta*, *huda*.

§ 108. Other forms are: Singular. 1. *agatemi*, *ayidemi* 'I came', *oḍidemi* 'I let go', *giṇnidemi*, *coridemi*, *jalpidemi*, *tidemi* 'I gave', *triṭhemi* 'I saw', *nitemi* and *niyidemi* 'I led', *parivaṭidemi* 'I exchanged', *picavitemi*, *preṣidemi*, *vavidemi*, *vikridemi*, *vithitemi* 'I kept back', *vyoṣidemi* 'I payed', *viṣarjitemi*, *śrutemi*, *ṣayidemi* 'I got hold of', *hudemi*.

The bahuvrihi *ñadārtha* = *jñātārtha* is treated like a participle and we get *ñadārthemī* 'I have learned'.

2. *anavideṣi*, *kideṣi*, *krideṣi* 'you bought', *gadeṣi*, *gameṣideṣi*, *giḍeṣi*, *giṇnideṣi*, *thaviteṣi*, *diteṣi*, *nikhaliteṣi*, *parimargideṣi*, *picavideṣi*, *prahiteṣi*, *baṇnideṣi* (*bandh-*), *vajideṣi* 'you read', *vikrideṣi*, *vithavideṣi*, *vibhaṣiteṣi*, *viṣajideṣi*, *sajavideṣi*, *saṃtiṭheṣi*, *hudeṣi*. For the forms in *-tu*, cf. § 93.

3. *ayita* 'came', *akasita* 'carried off', *anita*, *anavida*, *ichita*, *ukasita*, *uthavida*, *oḍita*, *garahita*, *giṭa* and *giṇnita*, *govita* 225 (? *corita*), *ciṃtita* 'reckoned', *ciṃnita* 'cut' (*chiṃnita*), *jalpita*, *jhorita* (= *chorita*), *taḍita*, *thavita*, *darṣita* 'packed, loaded', *dahita* 666 (= *dagdha*), *naśida* 'disappeared', *nikhalita*, *niyida* 'took', *nivartita* 'returned', *paḍichida*, *pratilikhida*, *payita* 763 (from *pāyayati*), *parakramita*, *parivaṭida*, *palayita*, *poṣida*, *praḡasida*, *praṣavita* 'let have, granted', *praharita* 'struck', *preṣida*, *biṇnita* and *bhinita*, *maṃtrita* 'said', *marita* 'killed', *mavita*, *likhida*, *lihita*, *leṣita*, *vakoṣida*, *varita* 'stopped', *vardhida*, *vikarida* 419 (passive), *vikrinita*, *vijita* 'wounded', *viṃṇavita*, *vitita* 'known' (passive), *vyoṣita*, *viṣajita* and *viṣarjita*, *śavita* 'swore', *ṣayita* and *ṣeyita* 'seized', *saṃghalita* 'collected', *sargita* 49 'flooded'.

§ 109. Plural. 1. *ayitama*, *kiḍama*, *kridama*, *giḍama*, *chiṇnidama*, *tidama*, *triṭhama*, *nikhalidama*, *nitama*, *nivartavidama*, *paṭichidama*, *pariḥitama*, *prahitama*, and *prehidama* 'we sent', *leṣitama*, *varidama*, *vibhaktama*, and *vibhaṣitama* 'we gave a (legal) decision', *viṣajidama*, *vyochiṇnidama*, *śakidama* 'we were able', *śrutama*, *hutama*.

There are probably no 1st plurals in *-ema*. Those forms which occur seem to be mistakes for the 1st singular in *-emi*. In 164

*gatema*, *śrutema*, *apruhitema*, *arogema*, are mistakes for *gatemi*, etc., as also *śatosma* for *śatosmi*. So probably *prahidema* 77 and *śrudema* 399.

2. *achimnidetha*, *asidetha*, *ichidetha*, *picavidetha*.

3. *aitaṃti*, *āgajhitāṃti* 'carried off', *agataṃti*, *ichitaṃti*, *ukastaṃti* 'departed', *uthitaṃti*, *oḍitaṃti*, *kataṃti*, *kritaṃti* and *kiḍaṃti*, *khaṇṇitaṃti*, *khayitaṃti* 'ate', *gataṃti*, *garahitaṃti*, *giḍaṃti* and *giṇṇitaṃti*, *chimṇitaṃti*, *taḍitaṃti* and *daḍitaṃti*, *darṣitaṃti* 'they packed', *nikastaṃti*, *nikhalitaṃti*, *nikhastāṃti*, *nitaṃti*, *nivartavitaṃti*, *nihaṃṇitaṃti*, *paḍichitaṃti*, *paraṣitaṃti* 'plundered, overpowered, took possession of', *parichinavitaṃti*, *parivaṭitaṃti* 'exchanged', *palayitaṃti*, *picavitaṃti*, *prasṛtaṃti* 383, *prahitaṃti*, *pruchitaṃti*, *bimṇitaṃti* (blind-), *maṃtritaṃti* 'said', *maritaṃti* 'killed', *mavitaṃti*, *mutaṃti* (mukta-) 63, *mṛtaṃti*, *varitaṃti*, *vavitaṃti*, *viṃṇavitaṃti*, *viṣajitaṃti*, *viheḍitaṃti* 'oppressed, worried', *vutaṃti*, *vyochimṇitaṃti*, *śataṃti* 'swore', *śrutaṃti*, *śayitaṃti* 'took hold of', *sarajitaṃti* 'agreed', *stitaṃti*, *hutaṃti*.

With *d* for *t*: *gadaṃti*, *paḍicidaṃti* 589 and *paḍichidaṃti*, *sarajidaṃti* 586.

As stated above (§ 105) the anusvāra is not usually written when *d* takes the place of *t*. Examples: *ayidati*, *uthavidati*, *uthidati*, *garahidati*, *chimnidati*, *nidati*, *niyidati*, *parajhidati* (beside *paraṣitaṃti*), *vikridati*. *paḍicimṭati* 598 = *paḍichitaṃti*.

### § 110. Passive forms in -aka.

Forms in -*āga* and -*ae* are used indiscriminately. Compare for instance 581 *eṣa hasta lekha likhidaḡa*, with 715 *eṣa pravamaṇaḡa hasta lekha likhidaḡa*.

Forms in -*ae* and -*aya* are: *kiḍae*, *kiḍaya* 593, *gadaḡa* 133, *coridaḡa*, *asitae*, *giṭae*, *ciṃtidaḡa* 'reckoned', *ditae*, *didaya*, *didae*, 'given', *dharitae*, *naṭhaḡa*, *nikasitae*, *nidaḡa*, *nidaya*, *patitaya* 414, *paraṣitae* -*aya* 'plundered, carried off', *palayitae*, *praviṭhaḡa* 333, *praṣavidae* 'granted', *pruchitae*, *bimṇitaya* 633, *likhitae* and *liḥitae* -*taya*, *varidaḡa*, *vithitae*, *viṣajidaḡa*, *saṃghalidaḡa*, *sarajidaḡa*, *hudaḡa*.

On the ending -*ae*, see further, §§ 8, 74.

§ 111. Forms in -*āga* are: *avyochimnidaḡa* 471, *asitaḡa*, *kritaḡa* (*kr* and *krī*), *kṛṣitaḡa*, *khayidaḡa* 'eaten', *khoridaḡa*

'shaved', *gachidaḡa* 388, *ciṃḍitaḡa* 'reckoned, assessed', *coritaḡa* -*daḡa*, *taḍitaḡa*, *tiḍaḡa*, *thavidaḡa*, *thidaḡa*, *diḡa*, *naḥaḡa*, *nikastaḡa*, *nikhastaga*, *paḍichitaḡa*, *palayidaḡa*, *picavitaḡa*, *praṣa-vitaḡa* -*daḡa*, *prahitaḡa*, *baṃdhitaga* 660 and *baṃnidaḡa*, *biṃni-daḡa* 'broken', *mumtritaḡa* 'sealed' 247, *mṛtaḡa* and *mṛdaḡa* 'dead', *yaḡitaḡa* 'borrowed' (cf. S. *yācitaka*), *ladhaḡa*, *likhitaḡa*, *vavitaḡa* 'sown', *vikaritaḡa*, *vititaḡa* 343, 544 'distributed', *vithitaḡa* 'kept back, withheld', *vināḥaḡa*, *vibhaktaga* and *vibhasitaḡa* 'decided' (of a lawsuit), *viṣajidaḡa*, *vismaridaḡa*, *vyochimnidaḡa*, *vyavasthavidaḡa*, *saṃgalitaḡa*, *stitaḡa*, *hodaḡa*.

§ 112. A number of these forms are used substantively, and as such may occur in the oblique cases. *coridaḡa prace* might mean 'about a theft' or 'about a thing stolen', but e.g. *taḍitaḡade paḥa* 'after a beating' is definitely an abstract noun. This is the only example of the ablative. Instrumental forms are quite common: *taḍitaḡena* 'through a beating', *darṣidaḡena*, 40 *yadi ... darṣidaḡena mariṣyati* 'If it shall die through being (over) loaded', *davida(ḡena)* 659, *vijitaḡena*, 190 *tena vijitaḡena mṛyati* 'dies owing to that wound', *vibhasitaḡena* 'decision', *vyochimnidaḡena* 297, 339, *yatha pūrva vyochimnidaḡena* 'as formerly decided' (cf. § 90), *śrutaḡena* 399.

*viṣajidaḡena* in 732, *maṃnuṣa viṣajidaḡena prace* is simply the instrumental written for nominative accusative (§§ 117, 118).

§ 113. Feminines in -i. The proper feminine form in the passive is in -i. In the active no distinction is made between masculine and feminine. Compare for instance in 39 *edeṣa dajhi Cimikae nama edeṣa ana aprochiti dhitu Kapḡeyaṣa dajhana uniti dita* 'A slave-woman of their's called Cimikae without asking their permission gave her daughter as a foster-child to the slaves of Kapḡe' with *pruchidavo bhutartha edeṣa dajhi Kapḡeyaṣa dajhana uniti diti edeṣa ana aprochiti siyati* '(You) must enquire whether really their slave (i.e. the child) was given to slaves of Kapḡe without asking their permission'; cf. further 279 *Yaḡe aḡanaṃmi kilmeḥi kala Acuñiyaṣa ṣvasu Cakuḡaae nama Ajjiyama aḡanaṃmi kilmeḥi Pḡenasa bharya aniti huati* 'Cakuḡaae sister of kala, Acuñi of the district of Yaḡe aḡana, was taken to wife by Pḡena of the district of Ajjiyama aḡana'; 4 *pruchidavo bhutartha kriti*



*siyati* 'whether she has really been bought', etc. Compare the Apabhraṃśa forms like *avaimī*, *palittī*, *diṭṭhī*, *saṃjuttī*, *uppaññī*, etc. (*Bhavisatta-kaha*) and § 74.

These forms have to be distinguished by the context from indeclinable participles in *-ti* (§ 102).

The distinction between masculine and feminine is occasionally neglected. We find feminine forms in *-ae* at 45 *edaṣa dajhi Cimikae dhitu Rutrayaṣa uniti giṭae* 'The daughter of their slave-woman Cimikae was taken as a foster-child by Rutraya' (cf. 434). On the other hand *-i* instead of *-ae* in 473 *yatha edaṣa śramana Saṃgaśira masuṣaṭa bhumaçhetra baṃdhova thaviti siyati* 'That the monk Saṃgaśira mortgaged a vineyard and a field of (ploughing) land with him'; 327 *muli huti*.

§ 114. There is one exception to the rule that the forms in *-taḡa*, *-tae* are passive, and that is the compound past tense *ditae siyati* 'he should have given' and *ditae huati* 'he has given'. Examples: 439 *bhutartha eṣa eti draṃga dharidae siyati* 'Whether he has really held so many offices'; 33 *yadi bhudartha eva haçhati, eṣa Suḡi giḡaḡa haçhati* 'If it is really so, (if) this Suḡi has taken (them)'; 345 *bhudartha śramanna Anaṃdasena Cuḡopaṣa paṛide aṃna avamicae giḡaka hoati* 'Really the monk A. has taken corn on loan from Cuḡopa'; 545 *yati bhudartha cojhbo Kaṃci edaṣa aṣpa nidae siyati* 'If really the *cojhbo* Kaṃci has taken his horse'.

The auxiliary verb may occasionally be omitted, e.g. 144 *yati Soḡanaṣa taḡitaḡade paça Kacana na karya kiṭae* (for *kiṭae siyati*) 'If Kacana did no work after being beaten by Soḡana'.

§ 115. In intransitive verbs there naturally cannot be the usual difference between active and passive. Here the difference is that the forms in *-taḡa* have a participial, those in *-ta* a verbal sense, e.g. *mṛtaḡa* 'dead', *mṛta* 'died', *gataḡa* 'gone', *gata* 'went', etc. As usual the form in *-taḡa*, *-tae* is used in making the compound past tenses, e.g. 637 *yaṃ kala kāla kirteya Khotanaṃmi dutiyaya gataḡa āsi* 'When *kāla kirteya* was gone on a mission to Khotan'; 19 *bhudartha Taṃaṣyanae bhaḡena Yitasenaṣa khulona vaṃti thidaḡa siyati* '(Whether) really T. stays with the herds of Y. in her turn'; 370 *asitae huaṃti*.



§ 116. **Gerundive.** The gerundive is the most common of the verbal forms. It is practically always made with the help of the vowel *i* from the present: *giṃnidavo*, *krinidavo*, etc. Original forms preserved are *martavya*, *gaṃdavo* (never \**gachid-*), *vikridavo* (beside *vikrinidavo*), *kartavo*, *nidavo* (beside *niyid-*), *prahatavya* = *pradhātavya*. There is no difference as a rule between verbs in *-eti* and verbs in *-ati*: *vyoṣidavo*, *viṣajidavo*, etc., but we find *uthavedavo* 575 besides *uthavidavo*.

Curious forms made from the past participle are *nikhastidavo* 612, *siṭhidavya* 'to be punished' 482, *ṣaṃdedavo* 721 (from *ṣada* 'pleased').

Forms in *-vo* and *-vya* alternate indiscriminately (§ 53), as do *t* and *d* (§ 19). Thus there are four spellings: *-tavya*, *-tavo*, *-davya*, *-davo*.

Of the three forms *-avya*, *-ya* and *-anīya*, *-avya* is the only one that remains as a living suffix. *-ya* is found in *kica* and *uneya* 'foster-child'; *-anīya* in *karaṇnīya* in the phrase *yatha kama karaniya* 'to be done what one likes with'.

## SYNTAX

§ 117. The instrumental tends to be confused with the nominative accusative. This process is closely associated with the development of the past participle into an active past tense (cf. § 105). *tena dita*, 'given by him', began to be felt as active 'he gave', and finally the nominative was used as well, *se dita*. This is exactly the same state of affairs as occurs in many of the modern languages. Compare for instance Grierson, *Torwali*, § 21. The subject of tense formed from the past participle is put into the 'agentive' case, which corresponds to the old instrumental. At the same time, as in these documents, the nominative is more frequently used. Examples of the instrumental = the modern agentive are 47 *edeṣa goṭha grhavaṣa Apḡeyena udaḡena sargita* 'Apḡeya flooded their farm and habitation with water'; 506 *Tatiḡena Ṣaṃcaṣa dajha picavida kaṃavaṃṇae* 'Tatiḡa sent a slave to Ṣaṃca to work'; 574 *kori Muldeyaṣa dajhana paṛide Raṃṣotsena bhuma krida* 'Raṃṣotsa (-ṛika) bought some land from the slaves of *kori* Muldeya', etc.

Of course these constructions correspond exactly to the ordinary Sanskrit passive constructions, but there is no doubt that they are translated as active because (1) exactly the same state of affairs is found in modern languages such as Torwali, where the construction with the agentive=instrumental is translated as active, (2) in the vast majority of cases the past participle in *-ta* is construed with the nominative where it must be active, (3) the instrumental is used as the subject of the present tense (§ 118), (4) in practically all definitely passive constructions, i.e. with participles in *-taḡa* and with gerundives, the genitive, not the instrumental, is used to express the agent.

§ 118. As a result of the development sketched above, the instrumental is confused with the nominative in all positions, and since the nominative is not distinguished from the accusative also with the accusative.

As nominative: 494 *yatha Paḡinena aloṭa viloṭade purva Moṣṭhapriyaṣa vaṃti suvarṇa ṛṇa nikhaleti* 'That Paḡina has some gold lent to Mokṣapriya before the plundering (of the realm)'; 622 *Maharayaṇputra kala Puṃṇabalena lihati* 'The king's son kala P. writes'; 106 *ṣigra Suḡitena tui uṭena iṣa viṣajidavo* 'Quickly Suḡita and two camels are to be sent here'; 283 *tade ahaṃ maharayena sarva karya krida ṇadartha hodemi* 'From that I the king have learnt all about what has been done'; 399 *Cinaṣenena mṛtaḡa* 'C. is dead'.

More rare is *-ena* in the 3rd singular of the preterite: 431 *suveṣṭha Mareḡa paḍichitena forṇta* 'The *suveṣṭha* Mareḡa received'.

As accusative: 69 *adehi śramana Caḡuṣenena viṣarjideṣi* 'You sent the monk C. from there'; 86 *adehi Casminena viṣarjideṣi asmaḡena caraḡena* 'You sent C. our spy from there'; 106 *avi ca iṣa maṃnuṣa Saṃghadhaṃena Ṣaḡanaṣa vaṃti vikrideṣi* 'And here you sold a man S. to Ṣagana'; 272 *cojḡbo Soṃjakena aṭṭhovaṇ ajhate jaṃṇa suṭha abomata (=abhyavamata) kareṃdi* 'The serviceable free-born people very much disregard the *cojḡbo* S.'; 540 *Kacana uthita Sunaṃtena taḍita* 'Kacana arose and beat Sunaṃta'.

It is used as the stem-form in quasi-compounds like *ogu Kuṣanaṣenena cojḡbo Lṛpiṇyaṣa ca* 198.

Finally, the confusion goes so far that the genitive termination is added on to the instrumental in 345 *Buḡoṣenaṣa prace* 'About *Bu(dha)goṣa*'.

The instrumental plural is rare, but the same confusion is found to occur: 297 *mahatvehi vyochinnitaṃti* 'The magistrates made a decision'.

§ 119. The genitive is almost exclusively used for expressing the agent with passives, i.e. the participle in *-taḡa* and gerundives. The instrumental occurs very rarely, e.g. 436 *yatha paṃthami gachamana Maṣḍhigeyena baṃnidaḡa matritamṃti* 'They said that while travelling on the road they were bound by Maṣḍhige'. But this is definitely the exception. Examples of the usual genitive construction are: 45 *Cimikae dhitu Rutrayaṣa uniti giṭae* 'The daughter of Cimikae was taken as foster-child by Rutraya'; 24 *yo edeṣa devaputraṣa padamulade bhumačṭitra ladhaḡa* 'The land which was received by them from the feet of his majesty'; 157 *se pirovaṃmi goyamṇa na paḍichitaḡa devataṣa* 'That sacrifice of a cow at the bridge was not accepted by the deity'; 735 *palayaṃnaga Suḡitaṣa ladhaḡa huati* 'An exile was received by Suḡita'. With gerundive: 83 *Campeyaṣa isa gaṃdavo, tahi Lpivrasmaṣa piḍita osuka avajidavo* 'By you Lpivrasma zeal is to be shown'; 106 *yo etaṣa maṃnuṣaṣa paḍivati siyati tusya atra samghaṭidavo* 'What information there is about this man is to be put together by you there'; 345 *taha sarva śramana Anaṃdaṣenaṣa viyoṣidavo huda* 'And so everything was to be paid by the monk Anandasena', etc. etc.

§ 120. Beside the genitive there are occasional examples of the nominative used with gerundives, so that the gerundive becomes a kind of active like the past participle passive. The tendency however is not much developed. Examples are: 58 *yo taya arthadana giṭamṃti ṣadha tanu Puḡo Lpipeya giṃnidavya* 'What property they took from her, along with herself, is to be taken by Puḡo and Lpipe'; 119 *Supiye Calmataneṣu... agamṭavya* 'The Supis are going to come to the Calmatanas'; 322 *eṣa lihitaga Khotamni maṃnuṣa prace Kilpaḡiya anatha dharidavo* 'This document about a man of Khotan must be carefully preserved by Kilpaḡiya'; 528 *putra dhidara... sama bhaḡa giṃnidavo* 'The

sons and daughters must receive an equal portion of the inheritance'; 671 *te valaḡa trina saṃvatsari pačavara giṃnidavo* 'Those guards must receive provisions of three years'; 722 *ahuno Svarnabala atra gaṃdavya huati* 'Now Svarnabala is going to come there' (cf. 634).

§ 121. The genitive sometimes appears instead of the nominative accusative: 120 *rajadharaḡa mahatvana Šitḡapotḡeyade varidama nivartavidama* 'We stopped and turned back the magistrates in charge of the administration of the kingdom from Šitḡapotḡe'; 370 *asmahu goṡhaṃmi Kroraṃci maṃnušana asitae huaṃti* 'Men of Krorayina dwelt on our farm'; 655 *teša uthavidati* 'They arose'; 450 *rotaṃna avi curaṃša isa anidavo* 'rotana and curaṃ (two agricultural products) must be brought here'; 422 *Argiceyaša bhratarana Kuvayaša vaṃte bhuma vikridati* 'The brothers of Argiceya sold land to Kuvaya'; 187 *avi eša kaṃṡha Cimola Kuvayaša taḡita* 'Also this younger (brother) Cimola beat Kuvaya'; 152 *ahuno atra rayaka uṡiyana višaḡidemi* 'Now I have sent royal camels there'. In some of these instances we are certainly dealing with a partitive genitive, e.g. *uṡiyana* 'some camels', *curaṃša* 'a quantity of curaṃ'. In other cases the genitive is erroneously used, e.g. 187 *Kuva-yaša*.

§ 122. In lists of names followed by *ca* the genitive always appears instead of the nominative, so that for instance *cojḡbo Yitaka toṃḡa Vuktoša ca* may mean either 'The *cojḡbo* Y. and the *toṃḡa* V.' or 'of, to the *cojḡbo* Y. and the *toṃḡa* Vukto'. Examples are very frequent, e.g. 9 *yatha eḡaša stri Caḡhi Parsu Alḡaya Raṡparaša ca aḡasitaṃti* 'That C. P. A. and R. carried off a woman of his'; 69 *Larsu Taṃjakaša ca atra višaḡidemi* 'I sent Larsu and Taṃjaka there'; 588 *Kakeya Jeyakasya ca*. The construction is less common in nouns other than proper names, e.g. 71 *eša pituša ca...gataṃti* 'He and his father went'; 561 *aṃklatsa puṡḡetsa odarasya ca* (three kinds of camel); 633 *koḡava tavastaḡa ghridaša ca krinidavo* 'koḡava, tavastaḡa and ghee are to be bought'. The same construction is used in a similar list in the plural: 544 *Šramaṃna bramana vuruḡa ṡa ca* 'Monks, brahmans and *vuruḡas*'.

Descriptive nouns and adjectives in agreement with lists of names like these are put in the genitive plural whether the phrase is to be taken as genitive or nominative, e.g. 157 *bhaṭaraḡana priyadarśanana sunamaparikirtitana priyabhṛatuaṇa cojḥbo Tsmaya tivira Tḡaca caraka Sucammasya ca* 'To the masters, fair to see, renowned with good name, the brothers *cojḥbo* Tsmaya, the scribe Tḡaca and the spy Sucamma'. On the other hand as nominative: 709 *eda vivada svaya devaputra śruda, oguana Purvayana Rutraya Cinaṣena suveṭhana Aṭhama Spalṭaya Laṣa ...cojḥboana Alpaya...vaśammasa ca* 'His Majesty heard this dispute himself, the ogus P. R. C. the *suveṭhas* A. Ṣ. L. and the *cojḥbos* Alpaya and...*vaśammasa*'; 578 *cojḥboana Bimbhaṣena Somjakaṣa ca pruchitaṃti*; 579 *saṭhi apsuana Apṣiya Śamcāṣa ca* 'witnesses are the *apsus* A. and S.', etc. etc.

§ 123. The locative has taken the place of the accusative in expressing the goal with verbs of going, sending, etc. A similar development is to be observed in Apabhraṃśa (Ludwig Alsdorf, *Kumārāpālāpratibodha*, p. 65): 1, etc. *hastagata rayadvarammi iṣa viṣajidavo* 'He is to be sent here to the king's court under arrest'; 14 *yatha eṣa Khotanammi dutiyaya gada* 'That he went on a mission to Khotan'; 27 *yaṃ kala Deviyae atra Caḡotaṃmi aida* 'When the queen came there to Caḡota'; 506 *Śamcaāṣa dajha Sanaca nama tena ṣadha Khemaṃmi ṭalayita* 'Ś.'s slave called Sanaca fled with him to Khema'; 195 *uṭa yaṃṇammi... nitamti* 'They took a camel to the sacrifice'; 621 *ṭuna iṣa sveya viṣeyeṣu aitamti* 'Again they came themselves here into (our) territories'. Parallel with this development the locative is used with the preposition *a*, *yava* and *acamta* 'up to' (cf. § 92).

This rule has no exceptions except in certain stereotyped phrases like *asamna gaṃdavo* 'to take possession of' (*āsanam gantavyam*). It follows that *naṭira* in the phrase *naṭira gachamti* (13, 15) cannot be a place-name or even an ordinary noun indicating the goal. It is probably an Iranian word meaning hunting (*B.S.O.S.* VII, 513).

§ 124. The future may be used as a sort of imperfect to express what used to take place: 182 *Kaṃjaka viṃṇaveti yatha eṣa rayaka uṭavala purva rayaka uṭavalana rajade va (ra) ḡhavalana*

*deyiṣyaṃti*. . . *purva rayaka uṭa caturtha divaṣa vuḍhiṃ bhaviṣyati* 'Kamjaka informs us that he is a keeper of the royal camels, formerly they used to give to the keepers of the royal camels a *vaḥhava*. . . formerly the royal camels used to be *vuḍhiṃ* on the fourth day'; 309 *yo tahi purva atra rajadhara huaṃti, tam kala adehi koyimaṇḍhina amna milima* 1 *Sa 20 20 10 (iṣa) aniṣyaṃti* 'Those who were governors before you, at that time they used to bring 150 *milima* of *koyimaṇḍhina* corn'; 376 *caturtha karya, purva māsanumāsa lehare gachiṣyati* 'A fourth matter, formerly letter-carriers used to go every month'; 435 *purva rajadhamā yasya rayaka dhamammi maṇṇuṣa athava stora mariṣyati avaṣa rajadhamāde cīntitaḡa huati* 'Formerly it was the law of the realm that of whomsoever a man or beast died in state employment, it was reckoned (i.e. paid out) from the administration'; 621 *eṣa Saḡamovi ogu Aśoka ni kilmeci Catoveṣa vaṃti bala simaya asiṣyāti* 'This Saḡamovi when young used to dwell on the boundary next to Catove who belonged to the *kilme* of *ogu Aśoka*'. Slightly different is the usage in 634 *tahi iṣa gaṃtavo asi, ajakra divaṣa iṣa na agachiṣatu* 'You were to have come here, up till to-day you have not come'.

This usage is interesting because it is exactly what is laid down in Pāṇini 3. 2. 112 *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ* 'The future is used for the past when somebody uses a word recalling something'. The commentary gives us an example: *abhijñāsi Devadatta vayaṃ Kāśmīreṣu vatsyāmaḥ* 'You remember Devadatta, we used to dwell in Kāśmir'. This is obviously the same kind of thing as the examples quoted above. The usage is not found in Sanskrit literature except artificially in imitation of Pāṇini. Pāṇini was a native of the North-West, so this was probably a piece of local syntax, which was not current in the rest of India and so does not appear in literature, but turns up again in the local dialect, where the influence of the grammarians is of course quite out of the question. It is interesting that Pāṇini's statement should be confirmed in this most unliterary of dialects.

It is not quite clear how the future should take over this sense. Instances of the future used as a kind of preterite in various Indo-European languages are given by Brugmann (*Grundriss*<sup>2</sup>, II,

3. 795) and Wackernagel (*Vorl. über Syntax*, I, 217), but there is nothing just like this.

§ 125. As stated above the imperative with the exception of *hotu* has ceased to be used (§ 98). The gerundive in *-tava* is most frequently used for giving orders. Also both the future and the optative are employed.

Future: 153 *avaśa etaśa maśasya 20 sasteyamñhi Kuṃṇāga iśa agamiśyati* 'Definitely Kuṃṇāga shall come here on the 20th day of this month'; 157 *tasuca Lpimsu cavala viśajitavya ari Calamma śaca go aniśyati* 'The *tasuca* Lpimsu is quickly to be despatched, along with Calama he will bring the cow'. This is exactly parallel with the English use of the future in giving instructions.

Optative: 152 *avaśa ede kilmeciye tava sarvabhavena jheniḡa siyamñti* 'Certainly let these people of (my) district be under your care by all means' (cf. 161, 164); 187 *taha ajuvadae kañiḡa bhrata jeṭha bhrata taḡeyati, putra pita taḡeyati* 'So from to-day let the elder brother beat the younger brother, and the father beat the son'. This is the same use of the optative as occurs in the law-books in laying down general rules. 385 *teśa piḡita anati dītae siyati* 'Let very carefully a command be given to them'; 437 *ajuvalade taya kuḡiyae prace Maṣḡhiḡeyaśa eśvarya siyati* 'From to-day let there be ownership for Maṣḡhige of that girl'; 696 *yo atra tahi paḡivati bhavyati emeva mahi lekha viśarjeyaśi* 'Anything that may happen to you there, you might send me a letter about it'.

### § 126. Prohibitions.

*ma iñci* = *mā kiñci* (§ 84) is construed with the present, the future, the optative and the gerundive in expressing prohibitions. The particle *iñci* is almost always added to the *ma*. (Exceptions, see *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, Index Verb., *ma*.)

Present: 272 *ede samḡdhae jaṃna varīdae hotu, ma iñci daraṃnaḡena jaṃnasa upeḡeḡḡi* 'Let these rich people be stopped, let them not oppress the debtor people'; 288 *śe Śamaṃnera tehi, jheniḡa siyati, ma iñci abomata kiñci kareḡḡi* 'Let this Śamaṃnera be under your care, let them not disregard him' (or 'treat him with disrespect'); 364 *ma iñci adhamena*



*Camakaṣa paride niyati* 'Let him not be taken from Camaka unlawfully'. (This may be optative=*neya(m)ti*; for *i=e* cf. § 1.) 386 *avi Caḍotiye varidavya ma iṃci parvatiyana adhamā kareṃti* 'Also the Caḍotans must be prevented, let them not be unjust to the mountain people'; 729 *ma iṃci adhamena rajadhamā pruchaṃti* 'Let them not administer (lit. "enquire") the law of the realm unjustly'. In most of these examples the *ma*-sentence has practically developed into a subordinate clause so that we can translate 386, for instance, 'The Caḍotans are to be prevented from committing injustice on the mountaineers'.

With Optative: 275 *na vithana kartavo ma omaḡa siyati* 'It is not to be held back, (the amount sent) must not be short' (cf. 306, 307); 519 *ma iṃci vismaridaḡa siyati* 'Let it not be forgotten'.

With Future: 347 *ma iṃci Caule paṃtha chiṃṃsiyati* 'Let not Caule cut (=stop) his pathway'; 546 *ma iṃci atra Kolḡeyaṣa vithana kariṣati* 'Let him not make a keeping-back (of the camel) from Kolḡeya'; 585 *ma iṃci atra masuṣa viḡa kariṣyati avāṣa anavidavo deyaṃnae* 'Let him not make a hindrance about the wine there, certainly he is to be told to give it'. In 310 we have examples of *ma iṃci* with the future (as with the present, see above) used practically as a subordinate clause. *Cima Kaṣikaṣa ca picavidavya ma iṃci para raja nikasiṣyati* 'They are to be put into the hands of Cima and Kaṣika lest they should get away to a foreign kingdom'; and, *teṣa hastammi ede maṃnuṣa iṣa viṣajidavya ma iṃci puna paṃthade pranaṣiṣyati* 'In their hand these men are to be sent here lest they should again escape from the road'.

With Gerundive: 22 *ma iṃci vithana kartavo* 'A holding back is not to be made'; 338 *ma atra maṃtra śrunidavya*.

More common than *ma* with gerundives is *na* (*na iṃci*), which of course originally was the only correct form: 31 *na iṃci tade atikramidavo* 'There must be no transgression from that'; 188 *na nikhalidavo*.

There are only occasional examples of *na* being used in prohibitions otherwise than with gerundives: 399 *bahu varṣa aṃtargata uṭa na preṣeyaṃsi* 'Do not send a camel many years old'.



§ 127. Subordinate clauses. *yo*.

Without verb: 9 *yo garbha, vinaṭha*; 165 *yo iṣa vartamana Lpimsuaṣa paride ṇadārtha bhavidavo* 'What happenings (there are) here, you must learn from Lpimsu'.

With Indicative: 31 *yo Lpimo Puḡoena ṣadha danagrahana hoati* '(That) giving and taking which there is between Lpimo and Puḡo'.

With Optative. In relative sentences of a general nature the optative is exclusively used. When the future is used it always conveys a definite reference to the future. From this distinction it is possible to assert that the mysterious form *haṭṭhi* is properly an optative (cf. § 100). Examples: *yo aṭṭho-vaḡa paḷayaṃnāḡa maṃnuṣa siyati ṣe...iṣa ativatidavo* 'What serviceable fugitive man there is, he is to be sent here'; 187 *yo eka bhitiyaṣa vaṃti ede bhratarana avarajeyaṃti, te varidavo* 'What any of these brothers do wrong one against another, they are to be stopped'; 47 *yeṣa vivada siyati rayadvarammi viṣajidavya* 'Of whom there is a dispute, they must be sent to the king's court'.

With Future: *yo tava kaṭi puna iṣa agamiṣyati emeva ahu teṣa tanu saṃṇa janiṣyami* 'Who of you shall come here in the future, so I will regard them as my own' (*teṣāṃ tanū-saṃjñāṃ jñāsyāmi*); 272 *yo maṃnuṣa cojḥbo Soṃjakena abomata kariṣyati ṣe...iṣa... viṣajidavo* 'The man who disobeys the *cojḥbo* Soṃjaka, is to be sent here'.

§ 128. The usual expression for 'when' is *yaṃ kala* with the indicative: 35 *yaṃ kala Cinasthanade vaniye agamiṣyati, taṃ kala ṛna pruchidavo* 'When the merchants shall come from China, then the debt is to be enquired into'; 272 *yaṃ kala Khotamnade yogaṭṭhema bhaviṣyati, rajya sthiṣyati taṃ kala ṣodheṣyaṃdi* 'When there shall be security from Khotan and the kingdom shall be established, they will pay'; 183 *yaṃ kala Supiye Caḍo-ṭṭammi agataṃti* 'When the Supis came to Caḍota'.

§ 129. *yadi*.

With Optative: *yadi aṃṇiatha siyati* 'If it is otherwise'; 35 *yadi vivada siyati*; 45 *yati na drrṭṭhaḡa na ṣrudhaḡa siyati* 'If they have been neither seen nor heard of'; 144 *yati Soḡanaṣa taḍita-*

*gena Kacana mṛdaḡa siyati* 'If Kacana died through Soḡana's beating'; 189 *yati avasiṭhe nikhalamana siyaṃti* 'If they are removing the remaining ones'.

~With Future: 165 *yati tade purima pācima viṣajiṣyatu paṃthammi paraṣa bhaviṣyati, tuo...vyoṣiṣaṣi* 'If you despatch it before or after then and it is stolen on the way, you will pay'; 206 *yati Ayamatu vasaṃmi bhuya vithiṣyati* 'If he still keeps it back in Ayamatu vasa'; 211 *yati ahuno bhuya eda palpi na sṗora iṣa aniṣyaṃti na cirena tuo...agamiṣyaṣi* 'If now again they do not bring this tax complete, before long you shall come (yourself)'.

*yadi* is not used with the present indicative.

§ 130. *yatha* with the indicative is regularly used in introducing quoted speech, the text of a complaint, etc.: 7 *Lpipe viṃṇāveti yatha triti varṣa huda Arsinaṣa paride gavi savatsi 2 vyochimṇiti* 'Lpipe announces that the third year has come (since) 2 cows with calf were legally awarded to him from Arsina'; 14 *Ṣameka viṃṇāveti yatha eṣa Khotanṇaṃmi dutiyaya gada* 'Ṣameka announces that he went on a mission to Khotan'.

*yatha* may be also used meaning 'as', in which case it usually takes the optative: 7 *yatha rayadvaraṃmi vyochimṇidaḡa siyati tena vidhanena niṇe kartavo* 'As the award was made at the king's court, according to that ruling a decision is to be made' (cf. § 45).

Rarely with the future (in the sense of *yahi*): 84 *yatha eṣa atra agamiṣyati, tatheva ṣigra...* 'As (=when) this man shall come there, so quickly...'.

§ 131. *yahi* is used with the future in the sense of 'when, as'. The form is probably to be compared with the Avestan *yēzi*: *yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati*; 289 *yahi gaṃnana pravaṇnaḡa...atra aniṣyati* 'when he shall bring there a document containing the reckoning'. It sometimes means 'if', being indistinguishable from *yadi* with the future: 161 *yahi eta karya tuo mahi kariṣyasi* 'If you do this thing for me'; 634 *yahi tatra cita na kariṣyatu* 'If you do not pay attention to that'.

§ 132. *yava* is used with the optative: *yava asti siyati taha sarva iṣa prahadavo* 'So much as there is, is all to be sent here'.

*yena* is used either with the future or the optative, meaning 'in order that': 272 *rajade sama sama parikre dadavo yena raja karyani na imci sisila bhaviṣyanti* 'Equal pay to each is to be given from the state, so that the administration of the kingdom shall not become slack'; 320 *avaṣa etaṣa Pṛuṣaṣenaṣa prace cimdedavya oḍidavya, yena atra mama kṛṣitaḡa vavitaḡa hastammi grṛheyati* 'Certainly thought must be taken about this Pṛuṣaṣena, he must be set free so that he can take in hand my ploughing and sowing'.

### § 133. Subordinate clauses without introductory particle.

(a) Conditional: *atra na paribuḡiṣatu hastagata iṣa viṣajidavo* 'If you do not get clear about it there, they are to be sent here under arrest'; 223 *aṃḡiatha siyati, yathadhāmēna niḡe kartavo* 'If it is otherwise, a decision is to be made in accordance with the law'; 266 *puna vivada kiṃci siyati* 'If there is any dispute again'; 546 *yaṃ ca Preyaṣa vivada siyati, iṣa agamiṣyati, iṣemi ogu vasu Bhimaṣenaṣa vaṃti garahiṣyama* 'And what dispute of Preya there is, if (when) he comes here, we will complain before the ogu vasu Bhimaṣena'; 714 *puna ahuno bhuya paḡḡi omaḡa viṣajṣiyatu avaṣa tanu goḡhade puna vyoḡiṣatu* 'If again now you send the tax short, certainly you will pay from your own farm'.

(b) Indirect questions: 3 *pruchidavo bhutartha kriti siyati* 'You must enquire whether she has really been bought'; 24 *pruchidavo bhutartha eva haḡḡati*, etc. etc.

With Indicative: 520 *pruchidavo eṣa dui draṃḡa dhareti puna ṣpaṣavaṃni dhamā kareti* 'You must ask whether he holds two offices and again (=in addition) is performing the duty of scout'.

### § 134. Reported speech.

As stated above (§ 130) people's words are usually quoted introduced by *yatha*. In addition *ityartha* may be appended to quoted speech, or it may be given without any special indication at all. *iti* is no longer used by itself. Examples of *ityartha* are: 124 *Ṣamasena... Lḡipeyaṣa ca garahitaṃti... bhuma praceya 'saḡḡi nasti hotamti' ityartha* 'Ṣ. and L. complained about some land... (they said) there were no witnesses'; 272 *avi paruvarṣa*

*uvadae Supiyana paride upasamgidavo huati ityatha* 'Also since last year there is cause of alarm from the Supis so it is said'.

When reported speech is given without any particle at all it is customary to append the verb 'to be' to participles and gerundives, whereas in straightforward statements this is not done. Instances are: 63 *eda prace tu Apgeyade anati giḍeṣi, Lpipeyaṣa stwi patena stavidavya hoati* 'Concerning this you have received instructions from Apgeya that the woman is to be restored to Lpipeya'; 144 *tuo anati giḍeṣi saḥhiyana śavatha śavidavo hoati, yati Sogaṇaṣa taḍitagenā Kacana mṛdaḡa siyati avimḍama maṇmuṣa vyochimnidavya hoati* 'You received a command that an oath was to be sworn by the witnesses and that if Kacana had died through Sogaṇa's beating a man was to be awarded as recompense'; 206 *avi ca imade lekha gata tahi putra Apita Sujatena śadha masu isa anidavya aṣi* 'Also a letter went from here that your son Apita along with Sujata was to bring the wine here'; 506 *avi samaya kiṭamti, ṣe dajha Śraṣḍha goṭhammi na oḡidavya huati tava Śaṃcaena kaṃavidavo huati yava Tatiḡa Bhatraṣa ca agamanammi* 'Also they made an agreement that the slave Śraṣḍha was not to be left on the farm, he was to be made work by Śaṃca until the arrival of Tatiḡa and Bhatra'; 160 *mahaṃte vṛdhi-jamna inṭhu maṃtreṃti cojhbo Lpipeyaṣa Sacammi goṭha ohara titaga uhati, udaḡa bhiṣa na titaga uhati* 'The very old people speak thus, that the yield (?) of a farm in Saca was given to cojhbo Lpipeya but water and seed were not given'.

## NOMINAL COMPOSITION

§ 135. The last member of a dvandva is usually inflected in the singular. A few examples of the old type remain, e.g. *pita-putre* 715 'father and son', *edeṣa pitaputrana* 71, *ede bharya pate* 632.

In 450 *putradhidarehi* is plural because it means 'sons and daughters'. Examples of the usual singular inflection are: *pitumadue* 164, *madupitusya* 109, *hasta padammi* 339, *Khema Khotamnade* 283, *Calmadana Caḍodade* 246, *śubhaśubhaṣa* 165, *danagrahana*.

This development is further attested inside India in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, e.g. *C.I.I.* II, 12, *matapitaram*, whereas the Aśokan texts still always use the plural *matapituṣu*.

§ 136. There has developed in this language a principle of group-inflection, by which the last member only of a nominal group is inflected, e.g. *cojhbo Yitaka tomga Vuktoṣa ca* 'To the *cojhbo* Yitaka and the *tomga* Vukto' (on the use of the same form for Nom. and Gen. see § 122). With feminine last 566 *Kupṣuta Tilitamaae ca*. It is not always easy to draw the line as to where ordinary cases of Nominal Composition end and where this loose stringing together of nouns begins. That is noticeably the case in the type quoted in the next paragraph, which corresponds in a way to the Sanskrit Karmadhāraya. In the case of ordinary dvandvas it is doubtful in the light of these facts whether e.g. *Khema Khotamnade* should be called a compound, especially when it is considered that in making accumulations of substantives the particle *ca* is not usually employed, e.g. 19 *coḍaga paḇevara parikraya dadavo* 'Clothing, food and wages must be given'. Similarly with verbs: 9 *agāsitaṃti taḷitaṃti* 'They carried off and beat'.

§ 137. Examples of Karmadhāraya are: *cojhbo Tamjakaṣa*, 43 *stri Suḷisae*, 4 *kori Rutrayaṣa*, 55 *rayaka khulana*, 133 *priya nivasaga Svaneyaṣa*, 248 *mahaṃta rajakaryena*, 24 *edaṣa dajha Sarpigāṣa vaṃti*, 32 *Peta-avanemci Sāgaṇeyaṣa*, 152 *priyabhṛatu ṣoṭhaṃga Lpīpeyaṣa*, 245 *edaṣa pitu cojhbo Ṣamaṣenaṣa*, 575 *maya rajadivira śraṃamna Dhamaṇṇiya*.

In all these cases the words hang very loosely together, and they must be regarded as group-inflection, rather than compounds in the proper sense of the term.

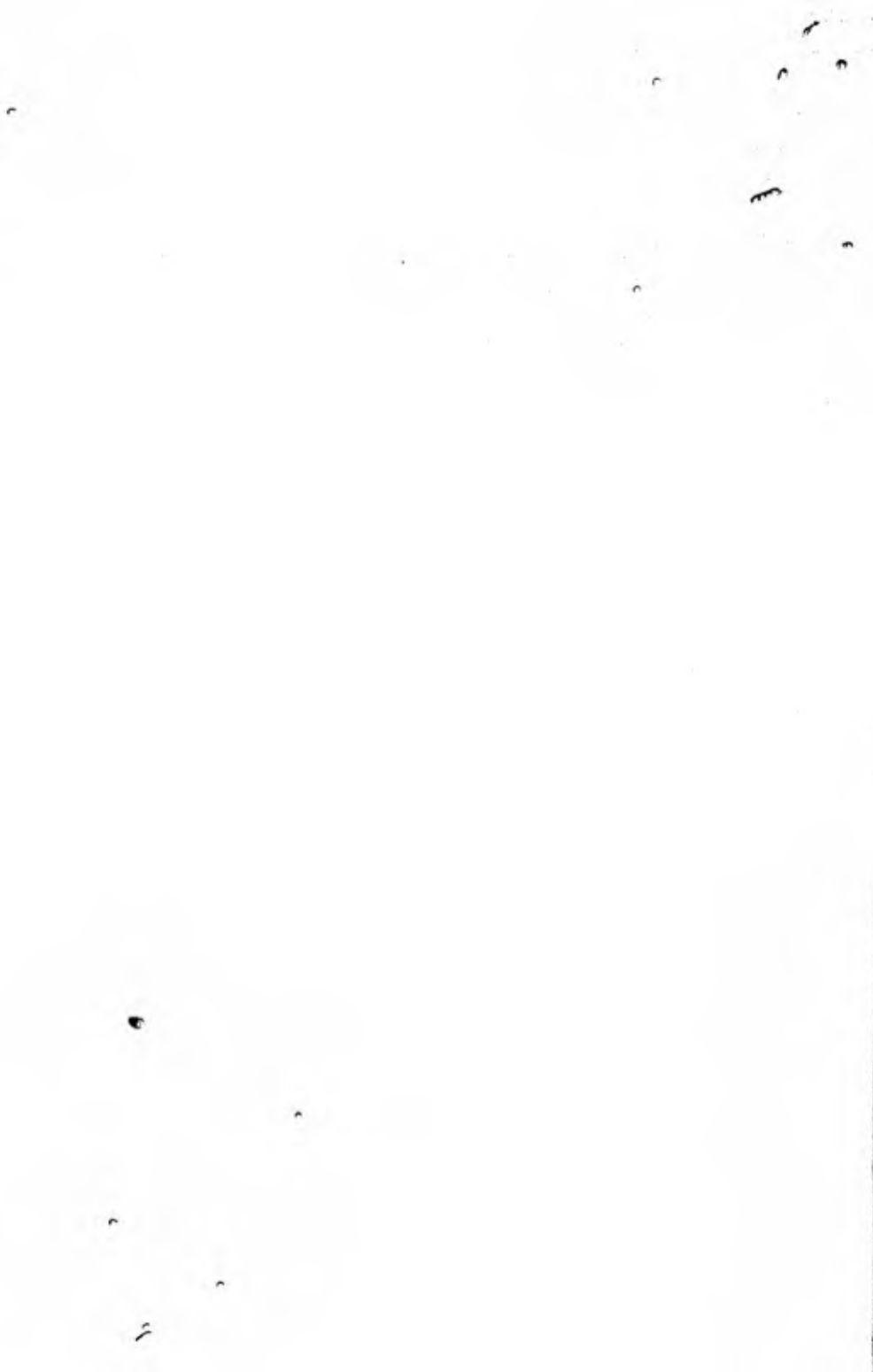
Examples are quite common in the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of N.W. India, which shows that the usage was widespread and not a peculiarity of this particular dialect. Cf. *C.I.I.* II, p. cxv, *mahadanapati Patikasa*, *erjhuna Kapasa*, *maharaja rajatitaja Hoveṣkasa*.

§ 138. Genitive Tatpuruṣas are very common: *anati lekha*, *rayadvarammi* 16, *palpi uta*, *viṃṇati lekha*, *padamulade*, *khula*

*uṭa*, *parikra aṇṇa* 25, *goṭhakarya* 31, *Cinasthana* 35, *aṇṇa nadha* 'pack of corn' 68, *aṇṇa śeṣa* 140, *ghrita pasu* 141, *go yaṁṇā* 155, *gaṇṇana pravāṇṇa* 'document of accounts' 159, *paṭṭi dhāma* 164, *raya saṅgī* 165, *rajakaryami* 272, *bhuma muli* 624, *maharaya-putra* 622.

Unlike later Sanskrit the Tatpuruṣa compound is practically never made with a personal name as the first member. They say *Lṭpipeyaṣa hastammi* (4) *Cimḡeyaṣa śatade* 82, *Catoaṣa goṭhade* 621, etc. etc.

§ 139. Bahuvrihis are rare: *mahanuava*, *ṣovarṣi* '6 years old', *catuvarṣaḡa* (etc.), *ñadārtha*, *maṇṇuṣa rupa*, 324 *paṣuvalana stri Kroae pramuhanam*.



## Part II

### INDEX

#### A

**a** = *ā* rather than *ca* (?), § 92.

**akas**: (*aḡas, aḡajh-*). = \**ākāsayati* from *kas* 'to go', i.e. 'to cause to come (to oneself), take away', opposite of *nikas, nikhas* = *niškāsayati* 'eject, send away', 1 *Lpipeya garahati yatha edaṣa gavi* 2 *seniye Sacimciye aḡasitaṃti, eka gavi patama oḡitaṃti, eka khayitaṃti* 'L. complains that soldiers from Saca took away two of his cows: one cow they let go back, one they ate'. *akasida*, § 16; *aḡajhidati*, §§ 22, 109.

**akiṣḍha**: (*aḡiṣḍha, aḡiṣṭa*). An article of some kind, because it is numbered, not measured, e.g. 431-2 *aḡiṣḍha* 2... *aṃña aḡiṣḍha* 1. Since it is often mentioned in conjunction with *kojava* 'rug' (see s.v.) it will be an article of similar nature.

**akri**: § 36, where it is derived from *agrya*. But the meaning is uncertain and it may mean 'uncultivated (land)' as suggested by Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XII, 38. There is hardly enough evidence to decide whether *miṣi*-land or *akri*-land was most valuable. In 571 *miṣi*-land of an area requiring 3 *milima* of seed is worth 60 *muli* (see s.v.). In 222 *akri*-land requiring  $\frac{1}{2}$  a *milima* (10 *khi*) is worth 10 *muli*, i.e. the same value. On the other hand in 579 *akri*-land requiring  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *milima* is only valued at 13 *muli*. But there is not enough evidence to make any generalisations about price. Cf. under *miṣi*.

**aṃkr'atsa**: i.e. *aṃklatsa* (*agiltsa* in 422 is a variant of this word). An epithet describing camels. It may be = the Toch. B. *aknātsa*, A. *aknats* 'ignorant', meaning an untrained camel. The original form of the Tocharian word was *anknatsa*, which might easily be dissimilated in this dialect into *anklatsa*. *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 673.

**aḡaṃduva**: § 16. = *āgantuka-*.

**agiltsa**: Probably = *aṃklatsa* above. *Anusvāra* is often omitted (§ 47) and the *g* instead of *ḡ* indicates its presence, because simple intervocalic *g* becomes *ḡ* (§ 16).

**Aṃkvaka**: (*Aṃgoka*, etc. § 7). The name may be Chinese An-*chou* according to Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 49, 50.

**agrātu**: §§ 12, 92.

**aḡaṃtu**: § 103.

**aḡeta**: An official repeatedly mentioned side by side with *yatma* (see s.v.), both of whose functions seem to have been closely connected with the collection and delivery of the tax (*palpi*); cf. 57, where



the *aṅeta* and *yatma* are responsible for conveying *palpi*, 714; an investigation is being held into the conditions of collecting the taxes, and the *vasu*, *aṅeta* and *yatma* are commanded to appear. Similar functions appear in 275 and 307. Further, the *aṅeta* possesses judicial functions in connection with legal transactions, e.g. 640 *eṣa likhitaḡa rayakade aṅeta Lpipatḡa traghade bhuma praceya Lustuaṣa anada dharidavo* 'This document from the royal administration, from the department (office) of the *aṅeta* Lpipatḡa, concerning land, must be carefully preserved by Lustu'; 715 *taha ko paṁima kaṇḡaṇṇi vasu aṅeta raya dvaraṇṇi codeyati*... 'Like-wise whoever at a later time makes a complaint before the *vasu*, or the *aṅeta* or at the king's court'; 437 *yo ca koci paṁima kalaṇṇi tāya kuḡḡiyae kridena caṇkura Kapḡeya ni bhratare bhratuputro va praputro va ṇati, yo aṇṇa kilmeci vasu aṅetana ṣa ca biti vara maṇtra nikhaleyaṇti* 'And whoever at a later time, (either) the brothers of Kapḡeya or his brother's son, or grandson, or any other relative, brings the matter up a second time concerning this girl before the local (*kilmeci*) *vasus* or *aṅetas*.

**aṅga**: To be read *aṅga*, cf. § 47. Always used in connection with *muli* 'price, payment'. It seems to mean something like 'additional, complementary, subsidiary' payment, e.g. 571 *giḡa muli uṭa 1 duvarṣaḡa paṇcaṣa muliyena, Koṇayena paḡichida aṇṇa aṅga muli giḡa masu khi 10* 'He received the price, one camel two years' old worth 50 *muli*. Koṇaya received. Further he took a complementary payment of 10 *khi* of wine.'

**aco**, **acovina**: The meaning seems to be, as Prof. Thomas points out (*Acta Or.* XIII, 58), a kind of courier or messenger. Not indeed the regular monthly postal service described in 376, but a special courier to report impending attacks from enemies (cf. 133, 139). In that case *aco* might be some kind of outlook post on the frontier.

Against Prof. Thomas' explanation (*ib.*) from Sanskrit *ājava* or *ājāh*, internal *j* never becomes *c*. It became regularly *y* and under certain cases *f* (= *ś*), § 17. *acaṣaṇṇaṇṇa* 415 (= *ajeṣaṇṇena*), if not merely to be regarded as an error, represents *jj*, which might possibly have been unvoiced into *cc* according to § 14.

**Acokisḡiya**: 371. Apparently name of a local god, cf. *Bhatro*.

**Acomena**: Place-name. Connected with *aco* (?), cf. the article cited above.

**achinati**: 'encroach on, appropriate', § 101.

**aḡhati**: = *haḡhati*, § 28.

**aḡhaniya**: 703. Read perhaps *raḡhaniya* 'to be kept'.

**ajakra**: §§ 36, 91.

**Ajiyama**: See under *avāna*.

**ajiṣaṇṇae**: § 1. *ajeṣaṇṇae*, §§ 41, 67 = *adhyeṣanayā*.

**ajuvadae**: § 11.

**ajhatu**: Only 152. The meaning is quite uncertain, but it seems to have nothing to do with *ajhate*.

**ajhate**: Probably = Av. *āzāta*, N.Pers. *āzād* 'noble' or 'free', cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 509.

**ajhateyaša**: 242. The alternative reading *ajhateyana* is to be preferred, because otherwise it would not be inflected, cf. § 137; = 'of the free men'.

**ajhi**: 562. Meaning and etymology quite obscure.

**ajho**: Obscure: but there is no reason to think it is connected with *aco* as Prof. Thomas thinks (*Acta Or.* XIII, 60). The letter deals with the transportation of the state supplies of corn and wine. Apart from that the passage containing *ajho* is far from clear. It runs: *uṭa 20 tre tre milima nadha kartavo dui vara Piṣaliyaṃmi nihaṃṣitavya, masuaṃmi uṭa 10 4 1 prathame va ajho tre nikhalidavo* 'Forty camels are to be loaded with 3 *milima* each (of corn), and the two-thirds are to be stored at Piṣali. For the *masu* fifteen camels are to be got out... (?)...'. Certainly *uṭa* is the subject of *nikhalidavo*, but is *ajho* another nominative parallel to it or some kind of adverb? Since we are dealing with wine it might be suggested that *ajho* = S. *āsava* (cf. §§ 7, 22), but that also fails to make the passage clear.

**aña**: §§ 41, 88. Declension of, § 88.

**aṭa**: = S. *aṭṭa*, Hindi *āṭā* 'flour'; Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 67.

**aṭha**: § 49.

**aṭhi**: § 49.

**aṭhovaḡa**: = 'ready, fit (for work), capable, available (for use)', §§ 37, 49. The meaning was first pointed out by Prof. Thomas in *Acta Or.* XII.

**aḡini**: Some kind of grain or crop. It is grown by seed (579).

**adha**: § 37.

**aṃtaḡi**: An epithet of horses and camels. The *ḡ* cannot stand for the suffixal *-ka*, because we never find *aḡi* in these forms. It must be an adjective derived by the suffix *-i* (§ 75) from a noun *antāk*, or *antak*. Probably Iranian, cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 779.

**ativatidavo**: Means 'send, hand over, deliver, dispatch'. Probably = *atipātaya*—rather than *ativartaya*—because *r* is not usually assimilated to *t*, and, in the few instances where it is, a cerebral results, §§ 36, 37.

**atvanam**: § 44.

**adehi**: § 91.

**adha**: § 37.

**adhamena**: § 90.

**ana, anati**, etc.: § 44.

**anata, anada**: § 91. Seems to mean 'carefully, well, properly'. It occurs regularly in certain stock phrases, e.g. 1, etc. *eda vivada samuha anada pruchidavo* 'This dispute is to be carefully investigated in person'; 571, etc. *eṣa pravaṃnaḡa Koṇaya ni miṣiyaša*

*praceya divira Ramšotsasa anada tharitavo* 'This document concerning the *miši*-(land) of Kōfiaya is to be carefully preserved by the scribe Ramšotsa'. In 569 and 593 *suha* occurs in place of *anada* in the same formula. *suha* seems to mean much the same as *su* 'well' in 419 *sukrida suhavikrida*. Also in the phrase *avi spasa jivida paricaḡena anada račhidavya* (cf. under *spasa*). The meaning hardly allows us to equate it with Skt. *ājñaptam* 'ordered'. It is perhaps the same word as Saka *ānata* 'kept preserved' (in the Saka version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*, vide Konow, *S.B.P.A.W.* (1935), pp. 428 ff. *ānata yanda* translates *ārakṣayiṣyatha*). In the Maralbashi dialect the same word appears as *anādu*. This identification is strengthened by the fact that in our documents it is most frequently used with verbs like *rakṣ-* and *dhar-*.

**anatiyena:** § 70.

**anavidetu:** § 93.

**anahetu:** either = *ṛnahetu* or *ana-*, is the extended form of the negative prefix which appears occasionally in Prakrit (Pischel, § 77), the meaning being 'without just cause'. Although the treatment of *r-* is irregular (§ 5), the former interpretation is supported by 719, where Saḡapeya and Pḡo carry off a woman *anahetu*; then the text goes on to say *yo Saḡapeya Pḡoḡa ca dharamṇaḡa hačhati* 'And whatever he (the owner of the woman) shall be owing to S. and P.', etc.

**anīyanae:** § 103.

**anīśati:** § 99.

**anupurvena:** § 90.

**anusarṇti:** = *anusandhi* or *ānusandhi* 'adjoining' (cf. Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 79).

**apacira:** (also written *avacira*, *apcira*). It appears as a kind of measure in the sale of vineyards (*masu śaḡa*) not of other kinds of cultivated land. Ordinary sown land was measured not by area but by the amount of seed which was sown on it (see *bhiḡapayati*), and from 655 this seems to have been the case with vineyards. *Budha-phamaasa vaṇti miši vikrida, tatra bhiḡapayati milima 1 khi 4 1, masu śaḡa, tatra masu vuta apacira 10 3* 'He sold to B. some *miši*-(land), there the capacity for seed was 1 m. 5 kh., (also) a vineyard; (and) there vines are planted to the extent of 13 *apacira*'. It is clear that *apacira* is some term indicating the number or quantity of vine-plants, and not the area. According to Stein (*Ruins of Ancient Khotan*, p. 247) vines are trained along low fences running in parallel lines. Perhaps *apacira* means 'row', i.e. a row of standard length in which vines were planted.

**apanasya:** § 86. = *ātmanah*.

**apane:** §§ 44, 86. = *ātmanah*.

**apyamṭara:** § 14.

**aprameḡo:** §§ 16, 53.

**apru:** Only 722. Seems to be some noun of relationship belonging to

the native language. Unfortunately no information is available on the actual relationship of the people mentioned.

**aprochiti:** = *apṛṣṭvā*, § 102.

**apsu:** Title. There is practically no information as to the nature of their functions. We find them mentioned along with other officials in lists of witnesses, e.g. 571 *cojhbo Kuviñeya sañhi, vāsuana Acuñiya Cañhiya Vāpikāsa ca, apsuana Sāṃcā Pitga tomgha Karamtsa saça, sañhi Tamcgo, agetana Lpipatga Kuuna Kuviñeya yatma Kuviñeyasa ca sañhi*. Perhaps *tomgha* and *apsu* were functions very closely connected, because the most natural translation is '...of the *apsu*'s *Sāṃcā Pitga* and the *tomgha Karamtsa*', i.e. subordinating the *tomgha Karamtsa* to the general conception of *apsu*. Otherwise we would have had *ga ca* after the name *Pitga*. Further, *Karamtsa* appears in 579 with the title *apsu*, while *Sāṃcā* appears at the bottom of this same document with the title *tomgha*.

**apñiñanu:** Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 432. Konow (*Acta Or.* XIV, 238) equates it with Skt. *abhiññāna*.

**ambila:** § 45. Possibly the same as *amila* 655, but the meaning of both is quite uncertain.

**Ambukaya:** Seems to be a title or surname: only 251.

**abomata:** = *abhyavamata*, §§ 41, 107 = used with *kr* in the sense of 'disobey', 'disrespect', e.g. 371 *yo eša cojhbo Somjaka abomata kariyati, vacanena na kariyati* 'This man who shall disobey the *cojhbo Somjaka* and shall not act according to his word'.

**abramo:** Quite obscure. The *b* suggests that it does not belong to the native language (§ 14).

**abhatayutu:** 399. One might suggest a reading like *asaṃta \*abhuta \*yatu tusmağa anartha bhavati* '(They say) things which are not, things which have not been, from which you suffer'.

**abhiñhe:** 272. There is a variant reading *akista* which might be a proper name. *abhiñhe* would mean 'desirable, suitable', but it is unusual to find an attributive adjective inflected, § 137 (unless *-e < -ae < -ağa*, § 53).

**abhirucitağena:** § 112.

**abhisamitampti:** 'They came to an agreement'.

**amaramnae:** § 103.

**amahu:** § 78.

**ayağa:** 107. Meaning uncertain.

**aya dvara:** = 'revenue', as pointed out by Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 71, quoting the *Kāśyapa Parivarta*, where the same phrase is found.

**ayarnnae:** § 103.

**aya Ridhasena:** = *ārya R.*, § 42. The word has a purely religious sense 'reverend', as in Buddhist texts, and does not elsewhere occur. The assimilation of *ry* to *y* is not regular (§ 36, cf. *karya*), but religious terms common to Buddhists in general are naturally liable to irregularities.

**ayidana:** 676. If the correction *asitana* be adopted *caṃa maṃtsa asidana na nikkhalita* might be translated 'By them having eaten the flesh, the skin was not removed'. But there is no other example of the participle in *-ta* being inflected in this dialect.

**ayoḡena:** Skt. *āyoga*. It is used to denote an additional payment to be made, when an old payment is long overdue, something like interest: e.g. 437, the payment of 3 *muli* has been deferred, consequently a ruling is made *yatha paṭami muli ṣeṣa vithidāe huati taḥa ahuno se muli eka ayoḡena giṃnitavo huda muli 4 1 aṃṇa varita* 'Just as the rest of the price (mentioned) on the document (*paṭṭa*) has been retained, so now that sum is to be received with one *ayoḡa*, the sum is 5 *muli*, other payment is forbidden'. *eka* is obscure, but it is clear that the *ayoḡa* is the extra 2 *muli* which have been added owing to deferment of payment. 14, an envoy to Khotan had not been provided with a guard (*valaḡa*) at Caḡota at the expense of the state. Now an order is made that the wages of a guard be paid him *ṣadha ayoḡena*, i.e. complete with interest or an extra sum to make up for his own expense and trouble. 68 (two men have eaten a sack of corn belonging to somebody else) *eṣa aṃṇa ṣa ayoḡena Opḡe Lpīpeṣa ca giṃnidavya* 'This corn plus interest is to be received by O. and L.' There do not seem to be any documents recording a deed of loan on interest, so if usury was practised, which it hardly can have been on a large scale, there is no means of learning what the general word for 'interest' was. *ayoḡa* always occurs where an additional payment has to be made by people who have neglected paying sums due for a long time. *āyoga* in the sense of 'something added on to, an addition, extra' is a quite natural meaning, although it does not appear to be used in Sanskrit exactly in this sense.

**ara:** § 28. = *hāra* (?).

**arabhtidavya:** § 116.

**ari:** = *ārya* (?). *ārya* certainly becomes *aya* in one place (see above), but there is a specifically monkish term. *ari* does not seem to be associated with any particular function, like many of the titles, so that a general meaning something like 'sir', which *ārya* might easily have, is the most likely. On the other hand the term is not applied to very many people.

**ariḡi and ariḡaḡa:** Only 109. Among a list of things sent as a present. According to Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 78 = *ārdrī* and *ārdraka* 'ginger'. The phonetics are irregular, but such a word is likely to exhibit irregularities due to borrowing.

**arivaḡa:** Probably means 'guide'. The *arivaḡa* is frequently mentioned as conducting envoys to Khotan: 135 *avi arivaḡa maṃṇuṣa aḡhovaḡa 1 dadavo yasya anupurvena gaṃdavo siyati etaṣa arivaḡaṣa tanu storena gaṃdavo* 'Also a capable *arivaḡa*-man is to be given (to the envoys) who shall go in front of them. This *arivaḡa* must go on his own beast.' Similarly 22, 253. The office was hereditary:

438 *Bhimaṣena viṇṇaveti, eṣa pītara pīta uvadae na arivaga asti Khotamni mata na anada janati, arivaga na kartavo* 'Bh. informs (us): he is not an *arivaga* from his father and ancestors, he does not properly know the Khotan *mata*, you make him an *arivaga*, he is not to be made an *arivaga*'. *mata* unfortunately is obscure. Skt. *mata-* does not seem to give any good sense. Similarly in 10 a man complains that his paternal profession is *klaseṃci* not *arivaga*. Etymology uncertain. Prof. Thomas suggests Skt. *arpaka-*, i.e. through \**aripaka-* with svarabhakti.

*are*: 2 *are khi* 1. Apparently the same as *ara* in 176 *ara khi* 1. Perhaps 'half a *khi*' < Ir. *ardaka*. For *r* < *rd*, *r* compare *nokzari* < *navaka sard-*.

*arogī*: § 9.

*areṣa*: (and *areṣahi*). Obscure.

*arogemi*: § 97.

*arohaḡa*: Only 420. Uncertain; perhaps something like the saddle of a camel; = *ārohaka*.

*Argiyonḡisavae*: § 69. Read *Argiyonḡ* (= *tḡ*) *iḡaae*.

*artaṣaṣa*: 431. Some object.

*artha*: § 55.

*arnavaji*: A kind of cloth measured in hands (*hasta*) 83, which may be white (*ṣpeti* 83, which seems to show that the word is feminine).

*aryaḡa*: 654. A title, presumably = *āryaka*, cf. *ari* and *aya*.

*arṣaḡa(e)*: Occurs before a few proper names, namely *Apeṃna* (87, 147, 210, 531), *Kolpiḡa* (560), *Uvaḡena* (543). It may be the Iranian proper name *Arṣaka-* (*Arsaces*).

*alamḡila*: Only 109. Some article; *ḡa alamḡila* 'along with an *a-*'.

*a la va la*: 499. Reading uncertain.

*alena*: Epithet of *koḡava* 'rug', 'blanket' 549; = \**ālayana-* 'rug for lying down in (?)'.

*aloṭa*: § 18. = \**aloṭṭa* 'plundering'; single *t* would have become *ḡ*.

*avaḡaḡena*: §§ 16, 21.

*avāna*: Hardly from Skt. *āpaṇa* 'bazaar', because the meaning is rather 'village' or 'parish'. It might first have meant a local market, then market-town including the land round it: 124 *Peta avāneṃci bhumana prace* 'Concerning the lands belonging to the parish of Peta'. The word is most likely of Iranian origin: O.Pers. *āvahana*, Arm.L.W. *avan*, both meaning 'village'; Saka *vāna* < (*a*)*vāna*, which shows that the second *a* was long. The meaning is obviously nearer than that of Skt. *āpaṇa*. *nagara* is used as a synonym for *avāna* in 25, *peta nagaramni*.

The *avānas*, always mentioned by name (the word *avāna* does not occur independently), are the following:

(1) *Yave avāna*; at 497 it appears as *deviyae yaṣe avānamni*.

(2) *Peta avāna*; in 494 as *deviyae peta avānamni*.

(3) *Catiḡa devi avāna*; also *Catiḡa deviae a°* 334, etc., and *devi Catisae a°* at 295.

(4) *Yirumḡhina avāna*, only 297.

- (5) *Ajiyama avāna*.
- (6) *Vaṃtu avāna*.
- (7) *Traṣa avāna*.
- (8) *Navaḡa avāna* 366.
- (9) *Tomgraka maharayaṣa avanaṃmi* 549.
- (10) *Devīyae ogu Anuḡaya ni avanaṃmi* 629.
- (11) *Paḡina avanaṃmi* 750.

Note also that Armenian *avan* is similarly compounded with proper names, e.g. *Valaṣṣ-avan* (Hübsehmar, *Arm. Gr.* p. 79).

The *avānas* frequently appear as administrative units for collecting taxes (cf. 42, 121, 165, 468) or other purposes (e.g. 136, 296, 439). In 16 Peta *avāna* is put in charge of a *caṃkura*. Individuals mentioned in the documents often have their *avāna* referred to, showing that it was an important unit of administrative classification.

**avamīcae**: § 55. Perhaps = *apamityaka*, rather than *apamityāya*.

**avalīka**: § 75. Mentioned side by side with *koḡava* 'blanket, counterpane', and *namata* 'rough coat' is perhaps an object of somewhat similar nature.

**avale**: Only 431-2. Unknown.

**avaṣa**: §§ 7, 41. *avaṣe*, § 53.

**avasama**: Not = *āvāsāt*, because the ablative is always in *-ade* never *-ama*, § 56. The meaning seems to be something like 'unsuitable, improper': 69 *mahi iṣa avasama Bhoti-nagarade aṃna nikhalanṃae* 'It was not proper for me here to remove the corn from Bhoti-nagara', or 'It was not opportune that the corn should be removed'; 29 *tatra saḡhi iṣa nasti, udiṣa avasama hoda iṣa niḡe karanṃae* 'On that point there are no witnesses here. Therefore it was impossible to make a decision here', or 'It was held that we should...'. Compare Saka *viṣama* 'improper' (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 141) which is opposed to *presama* 'suitable'. The words must be Indian not Iranian. Skt. \**apasama* and \**prasama*.

**aviḡida**: § 17.

**aviṃdhama**: 'recompense, penalty', e.g. 144 *yati Soḡanaṣa taḡitaḡena Kacana mṛdaḡa siyati aviṃdhama maṃnuṣa vyochiṃnidavya hoati* 'If Kacana (a slave) died through Soḡana's beating, a man (i.e. slave) must be adjudged to the owner in recompense'. The term *aviṃd(h)ama* includes both the making good of losses caused to other people by illegal action, e.g. 676 (somebody having stolen a cow) *udiṣa triguna aviṃdama chiṃnidama* 'Therefore we have decided on a restitution of three times the amount', and also punishment, retribution in the form of beating, etc. (209, 419, etc.).

**avidhamēya**: The alternative reading *avisamṃmēya* = *abhisamāya* is to be preferred.

**aṣpa**: = *aṣva*, § 49. *aṣpaṃca*, § 62.

**asade**: i.e. *ajhade* (z). Internal s was voiced, so appears written for z.

**asadhanāe**: = *āsādanāya* 'to settle' (Act.).



**asaṃna**: § 123. Only in the phrase *asaṃna gaṃdava*. The meaning seems to be 'take possession of'. Compare *possess* from *sedeo*. Cf. § 123.

**asāṃne**: 373, is from *āsanna* (opposite to *tura* = *dūra* in the next line).

**asūga**: See under *hastama*.

**asmaḡa**: § 78.

**ahati**: § 96.

**ahu**: §§ 78, 96.

**ahurpneva**: = *ahuno eva*.

**ahuno**: § 91.

## Ā

**āmečhita**: § 50.

## I

**imci**: § 84.

**ichiyati**: §§ 1, 100.

**itaṃca**: (and *idaṃca*), § 82.

**itu**: §§ 12, 91.

**ityartha**: § 134.

**imthuaṃmi**: § 91.

**ima**: § 82.

**iyo**: § 82.

**isa**: § 91. *iṣemi*, § 91.

**istriae**: § 10.

## U

**ukas**:- *ut* +  $\sqrt{kas}$  'to go', meaning 'depart, go away'. *ukasta*, § 107.

**učhivana**: Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises', *S.P.A.W.* (1933), pp. 6, 7.

**ujhmayuga**: An adjective applied to *manuṣya* (so read instead of *masuṣya*) 283 and *jaṃna* 373. Perhaps an Iranian word meaning 'skilled, experienced', Pahlavi *uzmāyīšn* 'experience', *uzmūtak* 'skilled'. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 780.

**uṭa**: §§ 25, 37, 49. *uṭavala*, § 20; *uṭi*-, § 68.

**uṭha**: § 25.

**uthaviyadī**: 661. Optative, not = *uthāpyate*, § 100.

**uthiṣa**: § 26.

**udiṣa**: §§ 41, 102.

**uṃna**: § 37.

**unidaḡa**: (also *uneyaga*, *unidi* (Fem.)). The forms are used indiscriminately, compare 538 *stri Ramasṛiae unidi giḡae huati* with 542 *sā kuḡi Ramasṛiae nama uneyaga giḡae*. = 'adopted (child)'. The custom was very prevalent, since numerous documents refer to it. A payment was made by the adopters to the parents which was called *kuṭhačhira* (see s.v.). In 569 it is laid down that they are not to be treated as slaves: *eṣa Ṣaṃmaṃnera unidaḡa na dajha kaḡavo na vikrinidavo*... *emu kaḡavo yatha uniya maṃnuṣa* 'This Ṣ. (is an) adopted (child), he is not to be made a slave, not to be sold, he is



to be treated like an adopted person'. With the permission of their masters, slaves could adopt children in the same way, cf. 39.

From *un-nī* in the sense of 'bring up', 'rear' (39 *unida vardhida*).

upagata: § 20.

Upateyu: = *Upadeva*, cf. *Jivateyu* and § 13.

upamna: § 107.

upari: § 91. = \**uppari*, cf. Panj. *juppar*, Hind. *ūpar*, and J. Bloch,

*L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 92.

upaśamghidavo: § 46.

uyoḡa: (?). Apparently title of some kind.

uryaḡana: See *vuryaḡa*.

uvadae: §§ 29, 102.

uhati: § 28.

## E

eka: § 16. Declension of, § 88.

ekaḡo: § 53.

ekhara: Title or surname. The *kh* shows that it cannot belong to the native language of Kroraina, which was quite devoid of aspirates (or spirants: *kh* may stand for *x*).

eti: § 87.

etriśa: § 5.

ema: § 50. *emaveca*, § 11.

emam̐tara: (and *imam̐tara*). = 'in the meanwhile, during this interval'. From *ima-* and *antara*; *emam̐tara* seems to be due to the influence of *ema*.

eśvari: § 9.

## O

ogu: One of the commonest of the titles in the documents. The *g* in the middle of the word is striking. Otherwise both in the Prakrit and in native names *g* appears in these positions: *bhaḡa*, *Caḡu*, *Oḡaca*, etc. There is no other word in which *g* appears regularly. In this word it is invariable. This perhaps indicates that it was pronounced \**oggu*. Anyway the term cannot have belonged originally to the native language of Kroraina, because it was devoid of voiced consonants (§ 14).

As regards its significance, it appears to have been about the highest title that existed, since in lists of people with their titles the *ogu* comes first, e.g. 732 *astama pruchitam̐ti ogu Jeyabhatra cam̐kura Cataraga cuḡalaina Tiraphara cojhbo Som̐jaka L̐piṭṭaṣa ca*, 574 *tatra saḡhi hutam̐ti ogu Dham̐apala kori Muldeya kitsatsa Lustuaṣa ca*. Similarly 709 (the king—the ogus—the *suveṭhas*—*cojhbo*, etc.), 582, etc. The title *guṣura* seems to have been connected in some way with *ogu*. A number of people appear both as *ogu* and *guṣura*, e.g. Kuṣanaṣena, Cakurata, Aśoḡa; while in the document 584 *eṣa muṃṭra guṣura Jebhatra cam̐kura Caraga cojhbo Som̐jakaṣa ca* is the same formula (and the same people)

- who appear in 582 *eṣa mu(dra) oḡu Jeyabhatra caṃkura Ca(taraḡa) (co)jhbō Soṃjakāṣa ceṣa*. About twenty-five *oḡus* are mentioned.
- oḡana**: Some kind of crop measured in *milimas* and *khis* (154). Perhaps connected with Toch. *oko* 'fruit', *okar* 'plant'.
- oḡeti**: § 99. = 'let go', 'send away', 'allow': 211 *edaṣa miṣiyammi khadaṃmarthi Kake Lpīpeṣa ca vaḡaviyani oḡitaṃti* 'K. and L. let mares loose in his cornfield to eat'; 18 *kriṣivatra na oḡeti karaṃnae* 'He will not allow him to do cultivation'. The etymology is not clear. It may be connected with Pali *oḡḡeti* 'throw away, reject' (Pv. A. 256 *oḡḡayāmi = chaḡḡayāmi*) and *oḡḡeti* meaning 'to set or lay a snare' (*pāsa*).
- odara**: Epithet of the camel. Perhaps = *udāra*, cf. A.M. *orāla* beside *urāla*.
- omaḡa**: § 7. = *avamaka* 'short' (of measure).
- oya**: § 17. = *ojas-*.
- orovaḡa**: = *\*avaropaka* (?). The meaning is not clear.
- osuga**: §§ 41, 48.
- osti**: 7. Apparently a mistake for *asti*.
- ohara**: 160. *goṭha-ohara = avahāra*, perhaps the 'produce of a farm', which can be removed (*ava-hr*) annually at harvest time.

## K

- ka-**: § 83. *kaṣi*, §§ 49, 84.
- kajaha varpnaḡa**: 583. Obscure. Lüders (*Textilien*, p. 21) equates it with *kaṣa thavaṃne* (141), assuming that *ha* is miswritten.
- kaṃjhavaliyana**: Only 725 *avi(k)kaṃjhavaliyana palpiyaṣa anada pricha ganana kartavo*; the meaning is obviously 'treasury-officials'. *kaṃjha* = Ir. *ganza-*, another dialectical form of *gaṃja-*, which also appears in the documents, cf. *gaṃñi*. The last member of the word is obscure.
- kañi draṃḡa**: = *gaṃñi draṃḡa*, cf. § 14.
- kaṣa**: 607. = *kāṣṭha* (?).
- kaṣavo**: § 37.
- kaṭha**: § 49.
- kataṃti**: § 5.
- katarī**: 505. Pali *kattari* 'scissors, shears', Skt. *kartari*.
- katma**: 160. = (?), *katma kriṣivatra karaṃti*.
- katvetha**: 470. = 'you have made'. Read *kaṣetha* (?).
- kampo**: 43. Apparently something made of gold.
- kabhodha**: Perhaps 'grazing-land, pasture', cf. B.S.O.S. VII, 513. Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or. XIII*, 70) thinks that it was communally owned. Cf. s.v. *naṣira*.
- kamita**: § 83.
- kamumta**: 207. Lüders (*op. cit.* p. 6) equates it with *kamaṃta* (see s.v. *caṃdrikamaṃta*), but without adequate reason.
- kaṃvaṣeti**: §§ 29, 104.
- kayavatra**: 534. (?). It looks Indian. *kācapātra* ('glass vessel') (?). *c* becomes *ṣ* (*j*) rather than *y*. But the signs are easily confused.

**karaṃṇiya**: § 116.

**karitu**: § 93. *karemana*, § 101; *karisadi*, § 41.

**karoma**: 505. Some object.

**karsenaṇa**: Some kind of official. Closely connected with the *śadavida*. They are mentioned together 482, 590. The *karṣṇaṇa* is comparatively rarely mentioned, only about six or seven individuals bearing that title.

**kala**: Title. It may mean 'prince' because *Kala Puṇṇabala* is called *maharayaṇputra* 622, 634. About ten *kalas* are mentioned.

Prof. Thomas has suggested (*Festschrift...H. Jacobi*, p. 51) that it is the same word as appears as *kara* in *Kujula Kara Kadphises* on the coins of that monarch, while *guṣura* = *kujula*. The identifications are exceedingly probable, although the phonetics are not easy to explain. On the other hand titles like these are liable to be borrowed from kingdom to kingdom, undergoing phonetic changes *en route*. Cf. s.v. *guṣura*.

**kālihari**: 399, and *kalihari* 709, 'quarrel'. Cf. Saka *kalahāraa* 'quarreller' and Lüders, *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 641.

**kavaṇi**: Perhaps = *kavacikā*, which would give *kavaṇi* (*kavaṇi*) in this dialect (§§ 14, 74 *ikā* > *i*, § 17 *c* > *ś*, *f*). From 505 it is clearly an article of dress.

**kaśa**: 400. Epithet of *aṇṇa* 'corn'.

**kaśpiya**: 534 *kaśpiya* 4 (in a list of objects).

**kaśara**: 606: *śramaṇṇa Ayila viṇṇaveti yatha eḍaṣa stri Cadiṣaae maṇṇa kaśara dahita* 'The monk Ayila says that the woman Cadiṣa has burnt his *kaśara*' (*eḍaṣa...maṇṇa*, anacoluthon). Compare Toch. A. *kāṣār* = Skt. *kāṣāya* (also B.). The Toch. forms perhaps find their explanation in this dialect. Beyond that the origin of the *r* is mysterious.

**kākāni**: 399. (?)

**kārsenade**: 86. Read probably *kārsenaṇa*. The officials *śadavida* and *karsenaṇa* are mentioned together in other places, cf. s.v. *karsenaṇa*.

**kāla**: Cf. s.v. *kala*.

**kikama**: § 84.

**kica**: § 41.

**kicamaṇa**: 'due, owing' (of tax, etc.). Etymology unknown.

**kiḍa**: §§ 5, 18, 107.

**kiṇṇtra**: A surname. Cf. *kiṇṇdari*.

**kitsaitsa**: Title. The *kitsaitsa* was of very high rank, often being mentioned along with *kālas* (581, 606, 640, etc.), also with *tasuca* (495, 648). The functions of the *kitsaitsa* were of a judicial nature (e.g. 495, 581, 606, 719, 730). Connected possibly with Toch. B. *ktsaitsaṇe* 'age'. The meaning 'elder', i.e. member of a sort of council of elders, would be quite appropriate. Cf. *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 673.

**kiṇṇa**: §§ 1, 83.

**kirsoṣa**: Epithet of *uṇi* 'female-camel', 570.

**kilamudra**: 'wedge-seal', i.e. wedge-shaped wood on tablet with the royal seal on. Stein, *Ruins of Ancient Khotan*, p. 368.

**kilme**: = 'estate'; *kilme(m)ci* 'tenant' according to Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XIII, 63).

It is not easy to be quite sure about the precise meaning of the word. It seems to be the same as the Toch. A. *kālyme* 'direction, district' and often a general meaning like that is suitable: *Yāve avānaṃmi kilme-ci* 'belonging to the district of Yāve avāna'. But there are certain indications that it has a more specified meaning. Notably 374 *saṃvatsari palpi cīṃditaga yo kilmeciyana paride yaṃ ca rajade* 'The year's tax was assessed, both that from the *kilmecis* and that from the *rājya*'. That may mean that the *rājya* was the land directly owned by the king, while the *kilmes* were fiefs or estates granted to the nobility of the realm. The titles of people who have *kilmes* under them are those which for other reasons are known to have been the most exalted. Most frequently *ogu* (209, 254, 393, 621, 639, 734). Also *caṃkura* (437 and 16, where Peta avāna is handed over to the *caṃkura* Arjuna), *kala* (256, 367) and possibly *cojhbo* (152). No one without a high title is mentioned as having a *kilme*, so that it is not just a case of ordinary landed-proprietorship and tenancy but something more approaching feudalism. Cf. also *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 674. A connection may be suggested with the 'Lord's land' of the Tibetan documents (Prof. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.* (1934), p. 96).

**kiṣaṃnae**: § 5. *kiṣivaṃnae*, § 104.

**kukuḍa**: § 18.

**kuṭhāchhira**: § 49. Technical term indicating the payment made by people adopting a child to the parents (cf. s.v. *uneyaga*). This usually consisted of a horse (45, etc.) or camel (569). Except in 741, the word always occurs in the genitive, e.g. 569 *kuṭhāchhiraṣa uṣa aklatsa ditaga* 'An *aṃhlatsa* camel was given (as a return for) *kuṭhāchhira*', i.e. as a return for having nourished the child in its earliest infancy, a payment was due to the parents from the people who adopted the child. *kuṭha-* is obviously the participle of *kuṣ-* 'extract' (connected with *cūṣ-* (?)), meaning the milk which had been sucked by the child. The *ṭhi* instead of *th* is unexplained (§ 49). The genitive is difficult unless we understand something like *kuṭhāchhiraṣa pratikara*.

**kuḍa**: 358 = *kuḍaga*.

**kuḍaga**: Fem. *kuḍi* (*i = ikā*) 'boy' and 'girl'. The word is common in a number of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Panjabi *kuṭi* fem., Lahnda *kuṭā* masc., *kuṭi* fem., etc., chiefly in the languages of the North-West. A connection with N.Pers. *kūdak* 'child' is not out of the question.

**kuthala**: Both meaning and etymology are difficult. It might appear from 327 *Kolaṣiyaṣa vaṃti miṣiyaṃmi kuthala 10 3 vikrida* 'In miṣi-land he sold 13 *kuthala* to K.' that it was a unit of land-

- measurement. On the other hand land is not usually measured by area, but by the amount of seed it takes (see s.v. *payati*, *bijapay*<sup>o</sup>), and the fact that *kuthala* is placed before *bhuma*, qualifying it (e.g. 419, 582), indicates that it was a particular form or kind of land. Since undoubtedly the *kuthalas* are numbered (see above) a meaning something like a 'strip of land' would be most adequate, and *kuthala bhuma* would mean land divided up in such a fashion. Such systems of land-tenure are of course common. The word cannot belong to the native language because of the aspirate *th*. Nor can it be Iranian because internal *th* would appear as *h* at this time (both in Saka and Pahlavi). As a rule (§ 27) *th* would become *h* in Indian words too, so that the word may represent \**kutthala*.
- kurora**: Epithet of land, *bhuma kurora*. Perhaps = N.Pers. *kurār* = 'a plot of land with a raised border prepared for sowing'; *B.S.O.S.* VII, 780.
- kulola**: § 28.
- kuṣāna**: *kuṣāna* 430. (1) Epithet of corn (*amṇa*), collected as tax. There are three technical terms applied in this sense: *kuṣāna*, *koyimaṇḍhina*, *tsamghina* (e.g. 272), but their precise signification is not clear. (2) in 318 *kuṣāna prahuni*; compare Saka *kuṣam thau* = Skt. *cailapaṭṭa*.
- kuśava**: § 2.
- kusaṃṭa**: Surname or title.
- kuhani**: (and *khvani*, *khuvānēnci*). = 'The Capital' or 'Citadel'; cf. Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XII, 61. 530 *mahanuava maharaya lihati . . . yatha . . . iṣa kuhaniyammi* ' . . . here in the *kuhani*', i.e. Krorayina, the capital from which the great king is writing. In 489 the *Khuvānēnci Bhiṣṭhu-saṃgha* lays down the ecclesiastical rules for the provincial *saṃgha* at Caḍota.
- keti**: § 87.
- ko**: § 83.
- kojalya**: § 21.
- kojava**: = Pali *kojava* 'a rug or cover with long hair, a fleecy counterpane'. Both words may be connected with *kaucapaka*, which is enumerated among the different kinds of rugs (*kambala*) at *Arth. Śāstra*, II, 11. 100.
- kotareyana**: 414. Obscure.
- kopi**: 198. Read *ko pivaraḡa* 'whichever is fat' instead of *kopi varaḡa* in the text.
- kobala**: Surname. = *koṃpala* (?).
- koyimaṇḍhi**: (and *koyimaṇḍhina*; in *koyimaṇ* 38, *-dhi* has perhaps been omitted by mistake). The term is applied to a particular class of officials in charge of collecting grain, e.g. 38 *Apeṇṇaḡa pitu Opḡeya Koyimaṇ (dhi (?)) hoati*; 309 *taṃ kala adehi koyimaṇḍhina amṇa mīlma iṣa 1 sa 20 20 10 (iṣa) aniṣ . . . (ti)* 'At that time the *k.s* used to bring from there 170 m. of corn'. Cf. *tsamghina*.
- korara**: Surname or title. Applied to *Suḡita* (73, 181, 577), *Rutraya* (147, 180, 382) and *Cakrāla* (334).
- kori**: An official whose functions seem to have been most closely

connected with the royal herds. Thus in 4 *kori* Rutraya is given instructions about the dispatch of camels. Further orders about camels are given to *koris* in 40, 64, 228, about horses in 213, 223, 228. They occasionally however appear in other functions, namely legal disputes, e.g. 32 (instructions to *kori* Rutraya about a marriage dispute), 49 (Rutraya: along with *cojhbo* Yitaka and *tomga* Yukto: dispute about property).

**koro**: 383. Apparently a kind of camel.

**korno**: 46 *striyana korno dhidare z (?striyana korno . . . orstriyanakorno)*. Quite obscure.

**koltarša**: Surname or title. Applied to Kuunġe (66), Salveta (210, 281) and Tsugenarpmma (266).

**košalġa**: § 16.

**košava**: Cf. *kojava*.

**krataġa**: 534 *krataġa z* (in a list of objects).

**kriṭha**: 580 *dhamḍa deyaṃti aṭṭa tre na kri ṭha prahara satati (nakriṭha or na kriṭha (?); epithet of horse (?))*.

**krita**: § 5.

**kriśaġa**: § 74.

**kriṣati**: § 5.

**kriṣivatra**: § 76.

**kriṣivamṇae**: § 103.

✓ **kremeru**: 318, 660. Some object which has to do with cloth or clothing, as appears from 660.

**krona**: 163. Epithet of *uṭa* 'camel' (or *nikrona*).

**klaseṃci**: Officials whose duties were concerned with looking after horses and camels connected with the army: 562 *ede Kuunġe Oġana ȡaca caura seni klaseṃciye, tusya puna rayaka uṭavala karetu, yo paṃca seni yade aȡi siyaṃti eda aṃṇa rajadhamā kareṃti, taha suṭha na laṃcaġa karetu, mahi maharayaȡa anatiyade aṃṇatha karetu, yahi eda kilamudra atra eȡati praṭha yo atra aṭhove jaṃna siyaṃti teȡa Kuunġeyȡa paride (uṭa) uṭi picavidavo, uṭavale kartavo ede Kuunġe Oġanaȡa ca piṇḍa klaseṃna dhamā kartavo* 'These (people) Kuunġe and Oġana are *klaseṃci*s for four armies (divisions of the army), but you are making them keepers of the royal camels. They are performing another state duty which on the top of their army-(work) (*seniyade aȡi: aȡi = aȡhi* which occurs below *tade aȡhi*. It = *adhi*, cf. *aȡimatra*) makes five (jobs). In this you are certainly not acting rightly, you are acting differently from the command of me, the great king. When this wedge and seal shall come there, such people as are available there, the camels must be handed over from Kuunġe to them, and they must be made keepers of camels, (while) these people Kuunġe and Oġana perform their fundamental *klaseṃna*-duty.' It is clear from this passage that the duties of the *klaseṃci* were sufficiently near those of the *uṭavala* for them to be confused by the authorities. In 10 a man complains that he is *klaseṃci* at Peta *avāna* and is being made an *arivaȡa* ('guide', see s.v.).

## K

**khema** : § 83.

## KH

**khakhorna** : An attempt is made in *B.S.O.S.* VII, 780 to show that this word should be read *khakhorda* and is = Av. *kax<sup>a</sup>arda* 'wizard', Arm.L.W. *kaxard* 'magician', Skt. *kākhorda*, *kharkoṣa*, etc., meaning the same. *khakhorna stri* would then mean 'a witch', a meaning which fits the passages well.

**khaja** : § 41.

**khampje** : § 60.

**khatva** : § 107.

**khadamnarthi** : § 55.

**khampnavatagesi** : Cf. s.v. *vataga*.

**khara** : = (1) 'ass' 598, 628; (2) a surname or title, e.g. *kha<sup>o</sup> Kunḡeyaza* 456. Connected with *ekhara* (?).

**kharaḡi** : 292. Perhaps means 'asses'.

**kharaṣarna** : 318. Some object.

**khi** : Measure of capacity: 20 *khi* = 1 *milima*. Since *milima* has been shown to be = Gk. μέδιμος, *khi* is probably = χούς. As regards the change from *ū* to *ī* Konow says (*Saka Studies*, p. 20) that in Saka a dental or guttural fricative effects the change *ū* > *ī* (*ttima* 'seed' = \**tauxma* through \**tūxma*, although here the *x* comes last).

**khula** : = *kula* 'herd (of camels, etc.)'. On *kh-* for *k-* in Prakrit, cf. Pischel, § 206. But the change does not occur elsewhere in this word. Both Pali and Prakrit have *kula*.

**khuvanemci** : Cf. *kuhani*.

**kheni** : = *khani* 'a pit'.

**khema** : Has hitherto been taken as = Skt. *kṣema*. But *kṣ* becomes *ṣh* not *kh* in this dialect. *khoriṭaga* 'shaven' is an exception. But this word in the compounds *śvastiḥema* and *yogaḥema* exhibits the regular form.

Further, it suits the sense of the passages better to take it as a place-name. In 214 *yava khemaṃmi* means obviously 'as far as Khema', because we are dealing with the stages of the journey of an ambassador to Khotan, and the provisions to be made for them. Khema appears from this document to have been a town between Caḍota and Khotan. In 506 and 709 we hear of slaves fleeing to Khema. Apart from this *khema* only occurs in the stock phrase *yahi Khema Khotamnade vartamana haḥhati imṭhu ami mahi maharayasa padamulaṃmi viṇṇādi lekha prahadavya* 272, etc. 'When there is news (*vartamana* = *pravṛti*) from Khema and Khotan you must send a letter of information to the feet of me the great king'. For the construction *Khema Khotamnade* compare *Caḍota Calmadanade*, etc. and § 135.

- Khotamna : = Khotan. *Kh* no doubt stands for *x* to judge from Saka  
*Hvatāna*, N.Pers. *xutani*, etc.  
 khoritağa : § 48. (= *kšor*-.)  
 \*khoša : Name of a man. Probably a Khotanese. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 516.  
 khvāni : Cf. *kuhani*.  
 Khvarnarse : n.pr. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 515 and 789.

G

- gachamana : § 101.  
 gachişyāti : § 99.  
 gamñavara : 'treasurer', § 45, and *B.S.O.S.* VII, 509.  
 gamḍa piṭaka : 511. = 'boils and eruptions'.  
 gatosmi : § 106.  
 gademi : § 105.  
 gamdavo : § 46.  
 ganasaga : A surname applied to Śakha, who was a Khotani (335).  
*kanasaka*, which is obviously the same, appears alone in 30  
*Khotani Kanasaka*.  
 gamarḥ : = *gamana*, § 13.  
 gamiyana : Cf. Pali *gamika* = *gamiya* 'courier'.  
 gameṣati : § 50.  
 gameṣiśa : § 99.  
 garahati : § 10.  
 garbhēni : § 3.  
 galpiti : 162. Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 641) suggests plausibly that it  
 is a mistake for *saṃgalpiti* 'having collected', with *lp* (i.e. *ly*) for *l*  
 according to § 31.  
 giḍa : §§ 28, 107.  
 giḍya : § 41.  
 giṃta : or *gita*; 225 *aṃña giḍa giṃta khi* 1, something measured in  
*khis*.  
 Girakaşa : § 15.  
 gilanağa : § 10.  
 guṭa : = *gūḍha*, § 18.  
 gumoca : 534. Some object.  
 guşura : Title. It is among the highest titles like *kāla* and *ogu*. With  
 the latter it seems to have rather close connections, because a  
 number of people appear with both titles (see s.v. *ogu*). Their  
 functions were judicial (216, 295, etc.). There were *guşuras* in  
 Khotan as well as in Shan-Shan (413).  
 Prof. Thomas (*Festschrift* . . . *H. Jacobi*, p. 51 and *Acta Or.* XIV,  
 p. 66) proposes to equate *guşura* with the title *kujula*, *kuyula*,  
*kozoulo*, which occurs on the coins of the Kuşan kings.  
 Leaving aside this problem for a moment I propose to equate  
*guşura* with N.Pers. *vazīr*, Av. *vičira*. The N.Pers. is reborrowed  
 from Ar. (Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, s.v.), the correct N.Pers.  
 form would be \**guzīr*. The change from *vi-* to *gu-* which is



characteristic of N.Pers. was also at work among the Iranians who appeared in North India in the first century A.D.

*Gudaphāra* = *Vindaḥarnā*. Further, *c* is regularly changed to *ś* in this dialect (§ 17), so that the form we would expect corresponding to *vazīr* if borrowed into a North-West Prakrit would be *guśīra*, and the assimilation of the vowels produced the form we have, *guśura*.

If this is true *kufula* of the Kuṣāna inscriptions, if connected with this word, will have to be a corruption of *guśura* in the mouths of non-Iranians of some kind.

In support of this hypothesis it may be further pointed out that *guśura* cannot belong to the native language of Kroraina on account of the initial *g* (§ 14), and if *kufula* were the original form it is incredible that a people possessing no voiced stops would substitute *guśura* for it. *gauśura* appears as an official title in a Sanskrit document from Kuci (Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte u. Geographie Ostturkestans', *S.P.A.W.* 1922).

**goduma**: § 24.

**goni**: *S. goṇī* 'sack', 214 *goniyammi*.

**goma**: = *godhūma* 'wheat'; *gohomi* 83 represents an intermediate stage. In 72 (*ja*<sup>2</sup>) *huma* (*ga*-) read *gohuma* probably. Cf. § 27 and § 28.

**gośato**: 157. Read certainly *go vito* (cf. s.v. *vito*).

**gramiye**: § 60.

**grahito**: § 53.

**grihasta**: § 5.

## GH

**ghrida**: § 5.

## Ṇ

**ṇgaca**: Read *Tṅaca* as in the notes. A variant is *Tagaca*, cf. § 13 and § 47.

## C

**caura**: 'four', § 19.

**caṃkura**: An official title. Peta *avāna* is put in charge of a *caṃkura*, 16. They appear from time to time as judges along with *ogus*, *cojhbos*, *tasucas*, *cuḥalayinas* (318, 506, 583, etc.). *Caṃkura* Kapṛeya has *kilmecis* (see s.v.) under him. Other administrative duties are entrusted to them (64, camels, 532). Prof. Thomas compares *cañ-khyir*, *cañkhyur* of the Tibetan documents (*J.R.A.S.* (1927), pp. 75 n., 79; (1933), p. 550; (1934), pp. 97, 252). He has further shown that its meaning in Tibetan is 'protector' (*Acta Or.* XIII, 73), and proposes to equate it with the Skt. *nagara-rakṣaka*, i.e. guardian of the city or chief of police. The Tibetan word is presumably borrowed from some Central Asian language.

**cakhorade**: 320 *ogu je ya ša ni ro cakhorade*. Read *ogu Jeyāša ni rocakhorade*, but the expression is quite obscure.

**caḡali**: § 75.

**caṃṇātrena**: = *jaṃṇātrena*, § 14.

**Caḡoṭa**: It is noteworthy that there are surprisingly few native names containing cerebrals, so that the language was probably devoid of them. *Caḡoṭa* is definitely exceptional. *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 669.

**Caḡotiye**: § 60.

**Caḡodemci**: § 77.

**Cataroyaesa**: § 69.

**catu**: § 89.

**catuvaršaḡa**: § 139.

**caṃdrikamaṃta**: 372. *cāṃdrik*<sup>o</sup> 714. According to Prof. Thomas 'moonlight-workings' = 'jade' (*Acta Or.* xii, 46), only in that case we ought to have had *-kaṃaṃta*, § 36. In 714 the word should perhaps be read *cāṃdrikamaṃtana*, because the *na* which is printed separately seems inappropriate. It is not clear whether we are dealing with a compound expression or with two separate words (*caṃdri* and *kamaṃta*) which happen to be mentioned together. *caṃdri* might be connected with Skt. *cāndrakam* 'ginger'. *kamaṃta* has been compared with N.P. *kamand* 'noose' which is uncertain as long as its meaning is unsettled, and also with *kamūṃta* (see s.v.). A further connection with Saka *kāṃmadi* is suggested by H. W. Bailey, *Z.D.M.G.* 1936, p. 576.

**capariša**: = '46', §§ 43, 47.

**camari**: 585: *camari vavala* 1. Probably a mistake for *camari vala*, i.e. the tail of the *camara* or chowrie.

**carapuruša**: 'Spy' or 'intelligence agent' as in Sanskrit.

**caru**: Surname or title applied to Kutḡeya (103), Mutreya (277), Lustu (327), Jimoya (385), Pratḡa (576).

**Calmadana Caḡodade**: § 135.

**cavala**: = 'quickly', § 90.

**cašaḡa**: = Skt. *caṣaka* 'cup', used of a small measure of capacity, less than a *khi*.

**ciṭuḡhi**: Cf. *jiṭuḡhi* and § 14.

**cita**: = *citta*; *cita kartavya* 'attention is to be paid'.

**ciṃd**: = *cint-*, § 46. It is used in the sense of 'reckoning' or 'assessing' the amount of tax, e.g. 468 *yahi purvika adehi Yāve avānaṃmi kilmeciayana paride saṃvatsari paḷpi aṃna nadha piṃḡa milima* 10. 4. 1. *ciṃditaḡa* 'Formerly from there at Yāve avāna the yearly tax from the *kilmecis* (see s.v.) was assessed altogether at 15 *milima* of corn'.

**citišati**: 667. Perhaps = *cintiṣyati*. On the omission of anusvāra see § 47.

**citranae**: 703. Read *ciṽanae* = *jivanae* 'to live', which makes good sense. The akṣaras *tra* and *ṽ* are quite easily confused.

**Cina**: Skt. *Cina* = 'Chinese'.

**Cinaphara**: *B.S.O.S.* VII, 515. Probably *cina* = Chinese and Iranian *phara* = *farnā*, just as *Cināsena* is formed with the Indian *-sena*.  
**cina veḍa**: 353. Pali *veṭha*, *veṭhana* according to Prof. Rapson and *cina* = 'Chinese'.

**cinika**: § 32.

**cimnita-da**: §§ 24, 45.

**cimara**: = *civara* (Prof. Rapson), cf. § 50.

**cirairpta**: 587. Epithet of *bhuma* 'land'. *cirāyita* (?) (i.e. land that has grown poor by being used for a long time). Quite doubtful.

**cilaṃḍhina**: 'common, shared': 21 *yatha edaṣa Lpīpamena śadha uṭa cilaṃḍhina hoati* 'That of him there is a camel owned in common with L.'; 256 (they have divided property...) *sudha Patraya cilaṃḍhina hoda* 'Only Patraya was (remained) common property'. On the suffix *-ina*, cf. § 77.

**Civamitra**: § 14.

**ciśa**: § 11.

**cuḍaso**: 206. Obscure.

**cudiyadi**: §§ 1, 2.

**cumpita**: 585: *śastrena cumpita taravacena cumpita*. Apparently means something like 'cut, chopped'. Dhātu P. *cumb-* 'to hurt' (?).

**curomā**: (*croṃa*, *ciroṃa*). Some kind of agricultural commodity, sent as tax (*palpi*). From 264 *curomā paṣu* 2 'curomā sheep 2' it would seem to be something that is got from sheep or goats (cheese?).

**culage**: § 53.

**culo**: 304. Apparently a surname.

**cuṣalayina**: An official title. *cuṣalayinas* act as judges (582, 709, 732). In 135 *cuṣalayina* Pkurnāseva goes on an embassy to Khotan. His name has a definitely foreign appearance (possibly Iranian, see s.v.). Judging by the position they occupy in lists of titled people, the *cuṣalayinas* were inferior in rank to *ogus*, *guṣuras* and *caṃkuras*, possibly superior to *cojhbos* (cf. 582, 584, 709, 732).

Only a few *cuṣalayinas* are mentioned, namely: Malbhuta, Onuḡi, Pkurnāseva, Pumnāvarpta and Tiraphara. In certain cases *cu* seems to be a proper name, cf. 278, 573, 702.

**Coka**: Surname of Pḡita, 103.

**cokto**: Surname of Somcḡeya and Arkarṭga (558).

**cokho**: (*cokaṃ*). Surname of Sugita (72).

**coḥṣa**: (*coḥṣaḡa*). = Skt. *cokṣa*, Ard. M. *cokkha* 'clean'.

**cojhbo**: The commonest of all the local titles. About forty people are referred to with the title *cojhbo*. Judging from the position he regularly occupied in lists the *cojhbo* was inferior in rank to *ogu*, *guṣura*, *kāla* and *caṃkura* (478, 709, 732, etc.). On the other hand *cojhbo* Somjaka was certainly governor of the province of which Caḡota was the capital (272 *ekisya etaṣa raja picavidemi*), so that he at least must have been superior in power to all the *ogus*, etc. residing there. But again the large number of *cojhbos* mentioned,

much larger than that of *ogu* or *gušura* or *caṃkura*, shows that they cannot as a rule have held such high positions as Sorpjaka.

Their functions were both judicial and administrative (tax-collecting, etc.). Also national defence in the case of Sorpjaka (cf. especially 272). How closely they were connected with the army it is impossible to say, because most of the documents are dealing with civil life. In 713 *cojhbo* Tagira reports a victory over an unspecified enemy, where it looks as if he had been commanding. In 478 apparently *gušura*, *spetha*, *cuvalayina* and *cojhbo* are all said to be military men: *Iša čhunammi khvaniyade seniye ayitaṃti gušura Kušanaseṇa, caruveta spetha Vidhura, cuvalayina Puṃṇa-vaṃta, cojhbo Naṃtipala Palaḡeṇa ca.*

The bulk of the wedge tablets (*kilamudra*) and leather documents (*anadi-lekha*) from the court are addressed to *cojhbo*s, so that while their rank was not so high as *ogu*, etc., they certainly played the most active part in the administration of the kingdom.

Since the native language of Kroraina had no voiced stops the group *jhb* (= *zb*) indicates that the title must have come from outside.

*cojhbo* is no doubt identical with the *cazba* mentioned in the Maralbashi documents edited by Konow ('Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt', *S.B.P.A.W.* (1935), pp. 772 ff.). Dr W. Henning points out in a communication that it is derived from Av. *čazdahvant-* (Nom. Sing. *čazdahvā*) which is translated by Pehl. *vičārtār*.

*coṭaḡa*: 'clothing', § 18. = *coṭaḡa*.

*coṭina*: 489. Obscure.

*cotaṃ*: = *cotaṃna*, § 13.

*codeyati*: § 100.

*cori*: § 60.

*coritaḡa prace*: § 112.

*corko*: 641. Surname of Suḡita.

## CH

*chataḡa*: 505. = *chadaka-* or *chādaka-* 'clothing'. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 783 and Lüders, *Textilien im Alten Turkistan*, p. 34.

*chaṃni*: 231: *chaṃni syati*. Not a future of course, because it would be *sy* not *sy*.

*chamṇipita*: § 14.

*chirṇnati*: § 45.

*chotaḡa*: 161. = (?).

*choreti*: *chorayati*, which occurs in Buddhist Sanskrit, = 'throw away, abandon': 134 *ma iṃci edeṣa aḡhia dhaṃṇena raja dhaṃṇa choretu* 'Do not abandon the law of the kingdom for a law (emanating) from the mouths of these people'. It may perhaps sometimes mean 'to send' (265); *jhorita* seems to be a variant, cf. § 15.

*choretu*: § 93.

## ĀH

Āhitra: § 1.

Āhiraṣa: 415, 434. Both times in the technical sense of *kūṭhācchira* (see s.v.).

Āhuna: = 'time, date', occurring in the formula *isa āhunammi*, which comes after the year, month and day of the king's reign.

= Saka *kṣuna* with the same meaning. It is also borrowed into Kuchean as *kṣum*. In the Maralbashi Saka it appears as *χṣana*.  
Āhema: § 48. Cf. s.v. *khema*.

## J

jamānatriyena: Cf. § 76.

jamdunamca: 565 'worms'. Cf. Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises' (*S.P.A.W.* (1933), pp. 15-19). He prints a text from Šorcuq in debased Sanskrit, where *jantuna* is used parallel to *ahi* in the animal cycle. For the plural, cf. § 62. This renders it unnecessary to assume that *sarpa* or *bhujaga* has been omitted.

janamta: § 101.

janati: § 96.

jamñiyae: 506. *tanuśaḡa goṭhadare paṃca jamñiyae śadha śata* (= *śapta*) 'Collection of five people' (?).

janemi: § 97.

jamnma: § 44.

jamatā: § 72.

jayamta: §§ 6, 101.

jalpita: § 40.

jalma: = *jālma*, § 40.

jāna: = *dhyāna*, § 41.

Jiṭugha: A title of the kings of Shan-Shan, which appears first in the seventeenth year of the reign of Amgoka. Its meaning and origin are unknown but it must certainly be foreign, because the native language possessed no *j* (§ 14), with the result that the title often appears as *ciṭugha*, and almost certainly no *ṭ* either.

jinida: § 15.

Jimoya: § 15. = *Cimoya*.

jivamtaḡa: § 101.

jivamtiyae: § 69.

jivamto: § 53.

Jivadeyu: = *Jivadeva*, cf. *Upateyu* and § 13.

Jivaśamma: § 36.

jivo: § 53.

juṭhi: (*cūṭhiye*, *jhuṭhi*). An obscure term connected with sowing and agriculture. It is not an adjective because it is placed after *bhiṣa* 'seed' in 703: *bhiṣa juṭhi*. The form *cūṭhiye* 422 looks like a plural (cf. § 60). It cannot belong to the native language (§ 14, and cf. under *Jiṭugha*).

**Jeṭugha** : = *ḡiṭugha*, § 3.

**jeṭha** : = *jyeṣṭha*, §§ 41, 49.

**Jepriya** : = *ḡayapriya*, cf. § 6.

**Jeyanamta** : = *ḡayānanda*.

**jeyamtasa** : § 6.

**Jiryaśyaṣa** (?) : Read as in the note *ḡeyaśa* or *ḡayaśa*. It is obviously the same *ogu* *Jayaśa* who is mentioned elsewhere.

# JH

= *jh* or *z*. Cf. *Khar. Inscr.* III, 303. They are distinguished in the originals but not in the transliteration.

**Jhaḡimoya** : *B.S.O.S.* VII, 789.

**jheniḡa** : = 'under the care of'; Saka *ysīniya*, Sogd. *zynyh*. Konow, *Acta Or.* x, 80. The *i* must have been long to judge from the Saka, i.e. \**zeniḡa*. Compare also N.Pers. *zīn-hār* 'protection' and *zindān* 'prison'.

**jheniya** : § 16.

**jhorita** : = *chorita*, § 26.

# Ṇ

**ṇatiyo** : § 53. Perhaps to be read *ṇatiyo*, e.g. 437. . . *putro va praputro va ṇatiyo amāa kilmeci* 'Son or grandson (or) relation (or) any other *kilmeci*'.

**ṇadartha** : § 139.

**ṇadarthemi** : § 108.

# T

**ṭera** : = *sthavira*.

# ḌH

= (1) *ḍha*, (2) an akṣara of quite uncertain value. Cf. *Khar. Inscr.* p. 305 and plate XIV.

**ḍhipu** : 722. Some part of a bow (*dhanu*) or something connected with it.

**ḍhyačhiyaṣa** : 685. = *dryačhiyaṣa*, which occurs in the following document, i.e. *tryakṣi* 'three-eyed'. Some god (?), Śiva (?). Also which of the two forms of *ḍha* (see above) is it?

# T

**ta-** : Demonstr. pron. § 80 (declension and syntax).

**taḡaḡo** : Surname of *Suḡita* 137.

**taḡastehi** : Uncertain, since it only occurs twice, 12, 43. In *taḡastehi varidavo* 12 it might be either instrumental or ablative plural, 'They are to be kept away from *taḡastas* or by *taḡastas*'. Or is it possibly an adverb?

**taṃcaṃ** : 117 *sarva piṇḍaiṃ taṃ caṃ gavi*. Read perhaps *sarva piṇḍaiṃtaṃcaṃ gavi*, i.e. \**itaṃca* (§ 82) (*piṇḍāyita* = 'collected together'). Or perhaps *sarva piṇḍa iṃtaṃca gavi* (cf. § 82 for *itaṃca*).

- taçhaṇṇa**: § 72.  
**taṇḍa**: § 14.  
**taḍitaḡena**: (and *taḍitaḡade*), § 112.  
**tati**: 570 *uṭi tati varṣi* 'A female camel so many years old'. Cf. § 87.  
**tatiyemi**: 58. Adverb derived from *tati* (above). Cf. § 91.  
**tatreṃi**: § 91.  
**tade**: § 12.  
**tanana**: § 24.  
**tanu, tanuṇaḡa**: § 86.  
**tanutri**: Read no doubt *tanuṇi* as suggested in the notes, i.e. fem. of *tanuṇaḡa* (§ 74). *tr* and *ṇ* are easily confused, cf. *jaṇṇatrena* and *jaṇṇaṇena*; also *citranae* (above) = *civanae*.  
**tapadaya**: = 'thereupon, straightaway'. Etymology obscure.  
**Tamaspa**: Iranian name = \**Taxmāspa*, *B.S.O.S.* VII, 515. On the *sp*, cf. § 49.  
**taṃena**: Title or surname of Suḡita (118, 384) and Kuleya (174).  
**taravacena**: Some instrument for cutting or chopping, 585. (It is used parallel with *ṣastrena*.)  
**tarvardha** (?): 479. Obscure.  
**tavanaḡa**: See *thavaṇṇaḡa*.  
**tāvastaḡa**: = 'carpet' (Prof. Thomas comparing Gk. *τάπης*, a loan-word from Persian, and N.Pers. *tāftan, tābam*). From the same base is *thavaṇṇaḡa* (see s.v.). Arm.L.W. *tapast* and *tapastak* 'mat', N.Pers. *tabastah* = 'fringed carpet'.  
**taṣavita**: = *daṣavita*, § 14.  
**tasuca**: An official title. Nothing very definite is to be learned about their functions. Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XIII, 78) suggests that it means *ἀποκριτής*, but does not quote any evidence from the documents. To judge by their position in official lists the *tasuca* were not amongst the highest titles (*ogu, guḡura, kāla*) but on a lower level with *aḡhbo, ṣasu, ṣoṭhaṇṇa*, e.g. 709, 588, 422.  
 In 580 *saḡhi divira Apḡeya, saḡhi sotira tasuca Catata, saḡhi kāla Karamṭaṣa putra Kamjiya*, Catata has a double title *sotira tasuca*. Is *sotira* the Greek *σωτήρ* used as an honorific title and is *tasuca* an equivalent of that?  
**taḡemi**: § 80.  
**tasmārtha**: § 80.  
**taha**: § 27.  
**tahi**: § 79.  
**tike**: 147 *tike ḡiḡaṇṭi*. Read *paḡe* (?).  
**tiḡhi**: Cf. *dīḡhi*.  
**tita** (etc.): § 14.  
**tina**: § 1.  
**timpura**: § 50.  
**timitavya**: Only in the phrase *prahuḡarthaya na timitavya*. The

meaning is clear from comparing a variant of the same phrase: 320 *prahuḍarthaya na manyu kartavya*, i.e. 'You must not be angry or worried, upset about a present'. (It was customary always to send a present with a letter, and this phrase is used when an excuse is given for not doing so.) *dimidavo* also occurs, and it is difficult (cf. §§ 14, 15) to be sure which is the correct form. *timi* occurs oftenest, which is in its favour. Possibly connected with *tāmyati*, although the phonetics are difficult. We may have a special treatment of original \**tīm̐myeti*. Has N.Pers. *tīmār* 'sorrow' anything to do with it?

**Tiraphāra**: Iranian name. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 515. The deity *Tīra* appears on the Kušan coins (Stein, *Ind. Ant.* (1888), p. 95) as TEIPO.

**tirša**: (and *tirsa*, *torša* 39 is apparently a mistake). Epithet of horse or mare. It is only used in the existing documents about those horses or mares which are given as a payment when children are adopted (see s.v. *kuṭhačhira*). The meaning is obscure but it is interesting to note that the form *tirša* is always masculine (used with *ašpa*) while *tirsa* is feminine (used with *vaḍavi* 39. 771), thus giving a glimpse of the morphology of the native language.

**tivajhe**: § 22.

**tivagehi**: § 58.

**tīšu**: § 1.

**tu** (*tu*): § 53.

**tuḡuḡa**: Title of Cimola (306, 360), Sudaršana (374). In 187 read probably *tuḡuḡa* for *vuḡaḡa* (as in the notes).

**tumbhičha**: §§ 37, 47.

**tumahu**: §§ 27, 79.

**te**: = *tasmin*, § 80.

**teyaṃgadhī**: 271 (or *teyaṃgami*). Read perhaps *te yaṃgami nidavya*. **tomga**: An official. He comes among the list of officials who are qualified as *ajhade* 'noble' or 'free' (436). His functions were closely connected with those of the *cojhbo*. The *cojhbo* Yitaka and the *tomga* Vukto repeatedly have letters addressed to them in common (11, 23, 28, 37, 42). These functions seem to have been most closely connected with camels and horses, and the conveying of things from one part of the kingdom to another (see, for instance, 387, 622). No. 96 consists of a list of *tomgas* and a statement of the number of people belonging to each of them. These are perhaps the *vaṭhayaga* (= *upasthāyaka*), who are referred to in 387, 622, i.e. the staff of subordinates employed by the *tomgas*. From that document it appears that *tomgas* were pretty numerous. Perhaps it was a military rank, 'captain'.

Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 53; *J.R.A.S.* (1934), p. 255, suggests a connection with *stom-gyan* and *ston-dpon* of the Tibetan documents. The latter seems, however, to have been a much more



important official (*J.R.A.S.* (1934), pp. 96-7). Possibly = an Iranian \**tuwānaka*-.

**tomi** = *toyā* according to Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 52. The form can be explained as *to* = *tava* and *mi*, which is frequently appended to pronominal forms (§ 91). On the genitive as agent see § 119. It seems to mean *tasmin* at 123.

**toṃmihi** : 165 *toṃmihi śadha iśa viśajidavo* 'Is to be sent here along with the *toṃmis* (?) ; if *toṃmi* here is instrumental plural, it is the only one of its kind. We expect *-iyehi* (§ 70). Also a noun *toṃmi* appears nowhere else. No doubt it is written for *tomi*, for which see s.v.

**toṣu** : § 53.

**trakhma** : §§ 14, 44.

**traghade** : §§ 14, 47.

**Traśa Avanaṃmi** : See s.v. *avāna*.

**triṣṭha** : § 50. Perhaps = \**tirikṣa* dissimilated out of *titikṣā* (cf. *diliṣṭha*) : 565 *nāga nāchatrami triṣṭha, sarva karya sahidavya* 'In the *nāga-nakṣatra* forbearance: everything is to be endured'.

**triti** : §§ 5, 89.

**trina** : § 89.

**triśa** : §§ 47, 89.

**trubhiṣṭha** : § 39.

**truśga** : 581 *truśga kalammi* 'in a time of drought'. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 511 (= *dur* and *huṣka*). Alternatively we might read *vuśga*. The akṣaras *tra* and *va* are very much alike, cf. s.v. *citranāe*, *tanutri amṣṭavēna* and *Khar. Inscr.* Plate XIV. The *h*- might easily be omitted leaving *uśka*, § 28. On *ṣk* becoming *śg*, cf. § 49. On initial *vu-* (*vu-*) out of *u-*, § 30.

**truso** : 631. Title or surname of Kunasena.

**trepe** : Surname of Jivamitra (5 times).

**tvaca** : 702. In a list of spices. Skt. *tvac* and *tvaca* = 'cinnamon' and 'cassia-bark'.

**tsaṃg(h)ina** : or *tsaṃghinavā* (for the *-vā* as a suffix cf. *harsenavā*). A particular class of official engaged in providing corn to the state, usually mentioned side by side with the *koyimaṇḍhina*. Possibly *tsaṃg(h)ina* is an epithet describing a particular class of grain collected as tax, and *tsaṃg(h)inavā* the official connected with it, in which case *koyimaṇḍhina* would have to have both senses, e.g. 164 *yo puna adehi rajade tsaṃghina kvemaṇḍhina palpi dhamā iśa mama pruchaṃti*, either 'What arrangement about tax from that kingdom (province) the *ts.s* and *k.s* ask me' or 'What arrangement about *tsaṃghina* and *koyimaṇḍhina* tax they ask'. The first seems most probable.

## TH

**thamavarṇte** : § 60.

**tharītavo** : § 14.

**thavaṃnaḡa** : (*thavaṃnae*, *thavaṃna-mae*, also *tavanaga*). = Saka

- thauma* 'cloth' (B.S.O.S. VII, 512). Cf. also for the form N.Pers. *tafnah* 'web'.  
*thavitaḡa*: 416: *tha*° 1. Participial form from the same base as *thavaṃnaḡa* (?).  
*thaviti*: § 112.  
*thiyamti*: § 96.  
*thiyanae*: § 103.  
*thubada*: 378: *thu ba da u na*. Obscure.

D

- dajavita*: Cf. *daśavita*. Only we would have expected *dajavita*.  
*Dajapala*: n.pr. = *Dhvajapāla*; cf. *daśa* in Saka (loan-word) = *dhvaja*.  
*dajha*: § 22. *dajhaṃca*, § 62.  
*daṃḡa prapṭam ca*: Possibly plural in *-amca*, § 62.  
*dadavo*: (and *dadavya*), §§ 9, 116.  
*daditva*: § 102.  
*danagrahana*: (*dvandva*), § 135; *danagrana*, § 28.  
*darśaveti*: § 20. = 'show'. Used when somebody tries to prove that some property belongs to him: 734 *yo atra oḡu Bhimasenaḡa tanu kilmeciyana bhumaēhetra Rutraya Paṃcama ḡa ca tanu darśaveti* 'The land that there belongs to oḡu Bh.'s own *kilmecis*. R. and P. are attempting to prove it is their own property'.  
*darṣ-*: 'to pack', = Av. *darəz*. B.S.O.S. VII, 510.  
*daśammi*: § 89.  
*daśavita*: Occurs associated with lists of names beside which are placed amounts of grain, etc. which they have either paid or received. Construed with the name of the official in charge of the transaction, e.g. 627 *daśavita Caneya ima* 10. 2. It is not quite clear whether the people receive or give the things mentioned, since the object of *daśavita* is always the people mentioned in the list. On the first alternative we might regard *daśavita* as a denominative from *daśa* '10', i.e. 'He collected the tithe from'. Or secondly, if the meaning is to 'distribute' (i.e. wages in the form of corn, animals, etc. to people employed in the royal service), it may be causative from √*dāś*, Skt. *dāśayati* 'give, grant, bestow'. For the latter alternative speaks the fact that people with official titles (*apsu*, *vasu*, *tonḡha*, etc.) are frequently mentioned in the lists. On the other hand, lists of names are frequently headed by *śadade* (an administrative unit, see s.v.), where the ablative would seem to imply that something was taken from *śada*. Alternatively the word might be taken as a title parallel to *śadavida* (O. Stein, B.S.O.S. VIII, 770).  
*daśutara*: § 89.  
*dasya*: § 15 (and *daha*, *dahi*, etc.).  
*dasyāti*: § 99.  
*dahita*: = *dagdha* (passage explained under *kaṣara*).  
*dāsyatu*: = *dāsyasi*, § 93.

- diṭhi**: Measure of length. Skt. *diṣṭi*. There is no need to compare directly Av. *diṣṭay-* (see *Khar. Inscr. Index Verb.*).
- dita**: May be either \**dita* or \**ditta*. The first would correspond with Indo-Eur. *datō-*, Skt. *-dita* (in compounds). Torwali *dit* 'gave', preserving the *t* speaks for original \**ditta*; *dita* would give *dī* in Torwali. Cf. further, *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 431, where it is shown that the form *dhitu* in 661 must represent \**dittam*.
- ditae**: (and *ditaḡa*), §§ 8, 16, 53.
- Dirpara**: Native corruption of the Iranian name *Tiraphara*. On elision of vowels, § 13. The *d-* is curious but of no significance for pronunciation in this language, cf. §§ 14, 15.
- diličha**: § 50.
- divira**: 'scribe, writer'. Iranian loan-word. M.Pers. *dipīr*, N.Pers. *dabīr*. The Iranian forms show a long *ī*, so that we may have \**divīra*. On the other hand, the word is borrowed into Sanskrit with a short *i*, *divira*.
- dīṣita**: 295. Read probably *yaṣita* as in note 6 (i.e. *yācita*, which goes well with the ablative *goṭhade*).
- du**: § 89 (*dui*, *due*).
- dutaḡa**: 722. = *dutaka-* 'burnt' (not *dūta*).
- dutiyae**: § 67.
- dura**: § 90.
- durbhale**: § 53.
- durlāpa**: § 14.
- dṛṭṭhati**: 3rd plural, *dṛṭṭhati* = *dṛṭṭhamti* 'they saw'.
- denati**: § 96.
- denuḡa**: Title, 418. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 5. Possibly from Av. *daēnā* 'religion'.
- deyarnnae**: § 103.
- deyāṃti**: § 100.
- devaputra**: A title introduced into India by the Kuṣān kings, and by them adopted from the Chinese 'son of heaven'. That it is used by the kings of Kroraina indicates some connection between the two dynasties.
- draṃḡa**: Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 510. The question is put there as to whether the meaning is not 'office, department' in general rather than 'Frontier-watch station' as Stein suggested, or even 'toll-house', and this seems to be rendered quite clear by 520 *Suḡiya garahati yatha eṣa ṣoṭhaṃḡa, avi rajammi divira eṣa puna ṣpaṣavaṃmi dhamā Salveyena ṣadha samma kareti Salve aṇṇa draṃḡa na dhareti*... *pruchidavo eṣa dui draṃḡa dhareti, puna ṣpaṣavaṃmi dhamā kareti* 'Suḡiya complains that he is *ṣoṭhaṃḡa*, also scribe in the royal administration, and that again he is performing the duty of *ṣpaṣavaṃna* along with Salve. Salve does not hold any other offices. . . you must ask whether he (Suḡi) holds two offices and on top of that is performing the duty of *ṣpaṣavaṃna*'. It is quite clear that the office of *divira*, etc. is here referred to as a *draṃḡa*. Similarly *draṃḡadhare* (*tr*°, etc.) means people employed in the

government administration. Cf., for instance, 554 *sarva tramghadhare goṭha bhaṭara jaṇṇa tṛamaṇṇa braṇṇa vuruṇṇa sa ca*. List of the different classes of subjects: Officials—householders—*tṛamaṇṇas* and *brahmanas*—*vuruṇṇas* (=?).

It must be the same word as *draṅga* of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, but the development of meaning is not quite clear. The same word appears as *udraṅga* in *Kuṭṭanīmatam* 936. For the etymology, cf. (rather than *drang-*, *B.S.O.S.* VII, 510) *Av. θraxta* 'zusammengedrängt', N.Pers. *taraṅjīdan* 'to be compressed', *turang* 'a prison'. This suits well if the original meaning was 'a fortified place'. The initial *dr-* would be the Saka development of *θr-*. If we take *udraṅga* as the original form we might explain the word out of Skt., i.e. *ud + raṅga* 'an elevated structure'.

**drifu**: 661. = *tripsat* (?). The passage is not clear. Read probably *aṃghi tadriṇu* and cf. Konow, *Acta Or.* XIV (1936), 238.

**drippura**: § 50.

**dvadaśa**: § 43.

**dvarapmi**: § 43.

**dvi**: §§ 43, 89.

# DH

**dharmnuena**: § 72.

**dhane**: A small weight, 702. It cannot be *dhānya*, because that would give \**dhaña*. It is no doubt a loan-word along with *trakhma*. N.Pers. *dāng* 'fourth part of a dram' (Steingass, *Pers. Engl. Dict.*). The earlier forms, quoted by Horn (*Neupersische Etymologie*, s.v. *dāng*), are: *ḍavakē* (O.Pers. Heracleides in *Et. Magn.*), Arabian loan-word *dānaq*, Pehl. *dāng* as in N.Pers. Originally therefore \**dānaka-*. For *-e* in the Kharoṣṭhi corresponding to *-aka*, cf. *aḡhade* = \**āzātaka*, N.Pers. *āzādah*, and *saste* = \**sastaka* 'day'.

**Dhameca**: § 15.

**dhama**: § 36. Note the idiomatic sense of 'employment in the royal administration', e.g. 567 *eṣa Suḡiya ṣoṭhaṃga dhamade nikhali-davya* 'This S. is to be removed from the post of *ṣoṭhaṃga*'; 10 *arivaḡa dhamēna*, etc.

**dharamnaḡa**: = *dhāraṇaka* 'owing (a debt)'.

**dharmiḡa**: § 36.

**dhalavaḡu**: 661. Perhaps means 'document': *maya dhalavaḡu Bahudhivā likhidu Khvarnarsasya aḡṣanayi* 'By me Bahudhiva this document was written at the request of Khvarnarse'.

**dhitu**: Declension of, § 68.

**dheṣati**: § 99.

# N

**na imci**: § 126.

**naḡara**: § 16.

**naḡa**: § 64.

**naḡira**: *B.S.O.S.* VII, 513. 'hunting' = N.Pers. *naxčir*, Pehl. *naxčir*, T.Phl. *naxčīhr*, Arm.L.W. *naxčir-k'*, Sogd. *n'γšyr* = \**naxčir*.

**nadi**: 368. Fragmentary. Probably (a)*nadi*.

**nadha:** = Skt. *naddha-*. Used as a substantive = 'parcel', e.g. 59 *sā aṇṇa teṣa jaṇṇaṣa tana tanu nadha iṣa anidavo* 'That corn of those people is to be brought here in separate parcels for each of them'; 291 *tre tre milima nadha kartavo* 'The parcels are to be made each of 3 milima'. Much the same as *darṣa*.

**namakero:** § 53.

**namatae:** (and *namataḡa*), § 53. = N.Pers. *namad* 'felt: a garment of coarse cloth' (Steingass), Pahl. *namat* 'rug' (Tavadia, *Śāyast-nē-Śāyast*, Index, s.v.), Anglo-Indian *numdah* (Stein, *Ruins of Ancient Khotan*, I, 367).

Borrowed probably from Iranian, also Pali *namataka*, and *nantaka* = \**namtaka* = some kind of coarse garment.

**namaṇṇiya:** (also *namanaḡa*). Only in the phrase *namaṇṇiya deyaṇṇae* 'to exchange' (?). Four methods of disposing of property are mentioned in deeds of sale (cf. 571, 580, 581, 587, etc.): (1) 'sell' (*vikrinanae*), (2) 'give as a present' (*prahuḡa deyaṇṇae*), (3) 'mortgage' (*baṇḡho(vā) thavaṇṇae*), (4) 'exchange' (?) (*namaniya deyaṇṇae*). Both forms must be derived from a word *namana*. This may be < an Iranian *nimāna* (for *na* < *ni*, cf. *namata* < *nimata*), cf. Arm.L.W. *nman* 'instar', 'similis', N.Pers. *namūnah* 'similar, like', 'pattern', etc. The meaning 'exchange', i.e. give something for something like it, might easily develop from this.

**Namarajhma:** Iranian name (*nāma* 'fame' as first member of names, Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 220, and *razma*, *ib.* p. 507).

**namena:** § 72.

**Narasaka:** 500 n.pr. Iranian, adopted from Narsēs (M.Pers. *nerseh*) with the suffix *-ka* (?).

**naṣati:** § 41.

**nasti:** § 95.

**ni:** § 17. = *nija* 'own': used as a suffix in place of the genitive after proper names, e.g. 593 *Śarsena ni putra Balasena*; 437 *Kapḡeya ni kilmeci Komḡala*; 582 *Yipiya ni bhuma praceya* 'Concerning Y.'s land'.

Often a word like *putra* or *dajha* is omitted without it being possible to tell the exact relationship of the people, e.g. 129 *Kunḡeya ni Lamḡa*, 210 *Jeyaka ni Tanḡakaṣa*, etc. In 318 *Samḡila ni Kacanoṣa coridaḡa* 'A theft by Kacano of Samḡila' it appears from the document that Kacano was slave of Samḡila.

Compare the similar use of *hivi* 'own' in Saka, just to strengthen a genitive, without any particular force of its own; cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 790.

**nikaliṣyati:** § 24.

**nikasati:** (and *nikhasati*). = *niṣ* + *kas* 'go' (cf. *a-kas*, *ukas*) 'depart, go away'. Sanskrit only causative *niṣkāsayati* 'to expel': 436 *Maḡdhige taṣa prace śavatha śata, tade coḡha nikasta* 'M. swore on oath concerning him, then went away cleared'. 'To come out' of witnesses: 326 *avi tatra bahu Caḡotiye vḡdhe nikastamṡi* 'And there, many old men of Caḡota came forth as witnesses'. 'To be

- expended, used up' of corn, etc.: 140 *yo tade amnade nikhastaga amñeṣa ditaya* 'So much of that corn as has been expended, given to others'. The prevalence of the form without the aspirate (*nikas-* more frequently than *nikhas-*) is noticeable compared with *nikhal-*, where it is usually preserved; cf. § 24.
- nikraṃta:** = *niṣkrāntā*; absence of aspiration as in *nikas*.
- nikrona:** 146. Epithet of *uṣa* 'camel'. Perhaps *krona* (see s.v.).
- nikhaleti:** = S. *niṣkālayati* 'expel, remove, eject, take out, bring out': 69 *na nagarade jaṃna nikhalidavo* 'The people is not to be removed from the city'. With *ṛna* to 'lend' on, 'have out' on loan: 495 *Močhapriyaṣa vaṃti suḍarna ṛna nikhaleti* 'He lends or has on loan gold with Močhapriya'. (More likely than 'recovers a debt', because then we would expect the preposition *paride* 'from' rather than *vaṃti* 'with'.) Without *ṛna*: 160 *yaṃ kala Sarpiga isa asitaga uhati bhuma ṣe nikhaleti, udaḡa bhifa Saciṃciye nikhaleṃti katma kriṣivatra kareṃti* 'When S. was living here, he used to let the land, the people of Saca lent, (provided) water and seed and *katmas* (= ?) did the cultivation'.
- nikhalyati:** § 94.
- nigata:** An adverb twice used with verbs of going somewhere: 83 *yaṃ kala tuo nigata rayadvarammi ukasidavo ačhati* 'When you are going to travel away to the king's court'; 119 *isa śruyati Supiye Calmataneṣu ima caturtha masammi nigata agantavya* 'Here it is heard, the Supiyas are going to come to Calmadana on the fourth month of this year'. 'Down to', adverbial use of *nigataṃ* 'gone down'.
- nigraha:** 'punishment'.
- ničiri:** 677. Epithet of *harga* 'tax'. Prof. Thomas takes it as an adjective from *načira* (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 792).
- ničhatra:** = *nakṣatra*. *ni*<sup>o</sup> also appears in Toch. loan-word *nikṣāṃtrā*. The first part was taken as the prefix *ni-*.
- nitya:** Never \**nica*, § 41.
- niyati:** § 94.
- niravaśiṣo:** § 1.
- niryoga:** 'relaxation', § 42.
- nivasaga:** 'neighbour'.
- nivarakaya:** 320. Read probably as in note 4 *nirāvakaṣa*.
- nisaḡa:** Epithet of *amna* 'corn', which is paid to people in the king's service. The meaning seems to be something like the corn required for their current subsistence.
- nisaṃgana:** 8. *nisaṃga amna* is intended. The *aṃ* perhaps indicates *ā* (*Khar. Inscr.* III, 300).
- nihañ:** § 27. = *nikhan*, also *nihañanae*. The -ñ- perhaps due to native phonetic tendencies mentioned in § 32.
- nuava:** Apparently short for *mahanuava* = *mahāṛyubhāva* (royal title). Less likely an independent (non-Indian) title.
- nokṣari:** The month of the new year. Arm. *navasard*. Konow, *Acta Or.* II, 121; cf. also *B.S.O.S.* VII, 512.

noñi: Epithet of *uṣa* 'camel'.

novati: § 89.

## P

**pake**: = 'package, parcel' (of rations, allowance paid to state employees), = Tibetan *pha-tsa* in documents from the same region. See Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 54 ff. Compare perhaps Kuchean *pāke* 'portion'.

**pakeyu**: § 62.

**paṃcara**: (and *paṃcarayina aṃna*). Perhaps = 'fodder' and 'grain for feeding': 146 *aṃṣa mṛga uṣaṣa paṃcarayina aṃna huda milima 4 khi 10* 'Also for a *mṛga*-camel the corn for fodder (?) was m. 4, kh. 10'. But the sense cannot be established with certainty. It might be something more definite, such as the food to be consumed on a journey, etc.

**paceya**: 79. = (?).

**pača**: §§ 49, 91, 92.

**pačadara**: Comparative of *pača* 'later'.

**pačevara**: = 'food, provisions', as is clear especially from 505 *Tsugenamṃma satu milima 2 khi 10 4 1 maka khi 4 1, kavasi 1; pačevara piṇḍa milima 3 chataḡa 1, tena Tsugenamṃma ḡiḡa* 'Tsugenamṃma-meal, 2 milima, 15 khi, maka khi 5; one tunic: the sum of provisions 3 milima, clothing—1 (article), that Tsugenamṃma received'. Here clearly *pačevara* is the general term 'food' in opposition to the particular kinds of food enumerated, just as *chataḡa* (= *chādaka*) 'clothing' is in opposition to the particular garment mentioned. Cf. also 19 *coḡaḡa pačevara pariḡraya dadavo* 'Clothing, food, wages must be given'.

Etymology uncertain, but a connection may be suggested with the Sogd. *pš'br* 'food, provisions'. Original *paḡya*° = 'food for a journey', cf. Skt. *pāṭheya*.

**pachamḡayina**: 65. Read *paṃcarayina* probably.

**pajeka**: 349. Read probably *paḡeka*, which is the regular form in this dialect corresponding to *pratyeka*.

**paṣa**: = *paṣṭa* 'roll of silk'. The word is discussed at length by Lüders, *Textilien*, p. 24 ff.

**paṣamca**: § 62.

**paṣanaḡa**: 223, 383. Read probably *paḡuvaḡa* (see s.v.).

**paṣami**: 437. Probably locative of *paṣa* in the sense of 'tablet'.

**paṣayaṣa**: Read *Patrayaṣa*, which is the same name. Since the akṣaras *ṣa* and *tra* are very much alike, cases like this are obviously a question of confusion of writing, not of a phonetic *ṣ* = *tra* (cf. § 36). Similarly *paḡaya*.

**paṣi**: 437 *eṣa paṣi*. = Skt. *paṣṭikā* in the sense of 'tablet' (*ikā* = *i*, §§ 74, 75).

**paḡiḡa**: 140. = *paḡeḡa* (*pratyeka*).

**paḡicimṭati**: § 109.

**paḡuvaḡa**: Skt. *pratibhū-* and the suffix *-aka* 'security, surety', §§ 28, 41: 446 *Katiyaṣa pake, Cama Sumati paḡuvaḡa* 'Kati's



parcel. Cama Sumati is security'; 703 *śarira huḍiyama osuḡa avajidavo civanae, ko jivitasya paḍuwaḡa amaraṇnae* 'Care is to be taken in the maintenance of your body to live, (and) as far as there is a security for life, not to die'. Read *paḍuwaḡa* in 546 for *ḡatruwaḡa* and in 223, 762 for *paṭanaḡa*. In 223 *hasta paḍuwaḡa* the *hasta* is reminiscent of Iranian idiom. Cf. forms like N.Pers. *dast yār*.

**paḍeḡa**: § 41.

**patama**: Adverb. = 'back', § 91. Cf. Torwali *pat* out of \**patta*:- 64 *imade aṇtaḡi uṭa 4 Samarsade patama nikhalidavo, Samarsade uṭa 4 dadavo, Sunade patama nikhalidavo, Sunade uṭa 4 dadavo, Piḡaliyade patama nikhalidavo* '4 *aṇtaḡi* camels from here are to be turned back from Samarsa, from Samarsa 4 camels are to be given; they are to be turned back from Snuna and 4 (fresh) camels are to be provided from Snuna; these are to be sent back from Piḡali'; 1 *eka gavi patama oḡitaṇti, eka khayitaṇti* 'They let one cow go back, one they ate'.

**patena**: § 91.

**pateyo**: § 66.

**paṇthaci**: § 77.

**patsa poṇa**: 303. = (?).

**padebhyam**: § 66.

**payati**: Cf. *bhija payati*.

**payita**: 703 *bhuma payita*. Causative from *pī* 'drink'. 'The ground has been watered.'

**parampulaṇmi**: 586. No doubt the same as is written *parabulade* (415). Obscure, but not a place-name because it is used immediately after *Caḡota* in 586 *iṣa Caḡota parampulaṇmi*. Prof. Thomas thinks it is the Gk. *παρεμβόλη* 'camp'.

**paraṣa**: In the phrases (1) *paraṣa bhav*:- 165 *yati... paṇthaṇmi paraṣa bhaviṣyati, tuo ṣoṭhaṇḡa Lpipeya tanu goṭhade vyoṣiṣaṣi* 'If it disappears (is plundered) on the route, you, *ṣoṭhaṇḡa* Lpipeya, shall pay from your own farm'; (2) *paraṣa kar*:- 324 *se kuḡaḡa Lpimiṇnaṣa goṭhade Khotaniye paraṣa kṛitaṇti* 'The Khotanese carried off (kidnapped) that boy from Lpimiṇna's farm'.

From *paraṣa* there further occurs a denominative verb *paraṣita, paraṣitaṇti* 'plundered': 324 *Supiya Calmadanaṇmi aḡataṇti, raja paraṣitaṇti, maṇnuṣa ruṣa paraṣa kiḡaṇti* 'The Supis came to Calmadana, plundered the kingdom and carried off the inhabitants'. Perhaps Iranian *parā + āsa*.

**pariḡhinavitamti**: § 104.

**paride**: § 92.

**pariniyamti**: § 94.

**paribujīṣatu**: 2nd Sing. (§ 93) Fut. of *pari-budhya-te* 'understand'.

**paribhuchanae**: §§ 2, 26.

**parimargiṣya**: § 99.

**pariyaṭitaṇti**: 130 (text *pariviṭitaṇti*). Read perhaps *parivaṭitaṇti* 'they exchanged'.



- pariyanamti**: 373. = (?).
- parivaṭṭida**: § 37. Skt. *parivartayati* 'exchange'.
- parivanae**: 214. = The stock of provisions carried by a horse. Skt. *paribhāṇḍaka* §§ 20, 45; or \**paribandhaka*- (?).
- parisamiṣati**: 130. = (?).
- pariharṣa**: Obscure. Only in the phrase *pariharṣa ajhati* 216 = *paridharṣa* 'assault' (?).
- parihaṣa**: (and verb *parihaṣati*). Skt. *paribhāṣā* and *paribhāṣate* (= 'revile, abuse'). The meaning is obviously something like 'complains'. It is construed with *vaṃti* and the genitive: 212 *ede vaṭṭavi praceyā eḍaṣa vaṃti parihaṣamti* 'Concerning these mares he makes complaint against him' (or perhaps more specifically as in Skt. 'abuses').
- paru**: Perhaps *paraḥ* (rather than *param*) with -u for -aḥ as in *itu, yatu*, § 12.
- paruvarṣa**: = *parudvarṣa*- 'last year'.
- paropimtsamānā**: §§ 28, 48.
- parospara**: §§ 49, 88.
- Parvata**: 'The Mountain'. Name of a mountainous district near Caṇḍota, presumably the hills to the south. Whence *Parvatiye* 'the people of the mountains'.
- palāga varna**: 660. Some object. It appears in a list of kinds of cloth or cloth articles.
- palayanaga**: 'fugitive'.
- palayamne**: § 53.
- palayiti**: § 102.
- paliyarnaga**: 318. = (?).
- palpi**: 'tax'. = Skt. *balī*, modified by the phonetic system of the native language of Shan-Shan. Cf. § 31, and *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 675. Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 647) has come to the same conclusion.
- pavanaḡa**: 234. = *pravamṇaḡa* (?).
- paṣamṇae**: 721 (and *paṣidavo* 159). Probably from *paṣyati*, although in Sanskrit it is not used outside the present tense.
- paṣu**: Declension of, § 71.
- paṣḍha**: 345. = (?).
- paṣamṇamno**: or *paṣamṇamta*. Something made of cloth (*thavamṇamae*), 534.
- paṣāṇnakara**: 627. *p° Suḡita* 'A maker of *paṣāṇnas* (= ?)'. Alternatively the reading may be *patsamṇa* or *pachana*.
- pāḡanātsa**: 320 *eta puna pāḡanātsa lihitavya*. = (?).
- pādayo**: § 66.
- pādami**: 320. = (?).
- piṃḡa**: 416 *p° 4* = Skt. *piṃḡa* (?) (something yellow-coloured); *piṃḡha* 264.
- picara**: = *pratyarha* according to Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XII, 66, and *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 792. 288 *lekha prahuḡa preṣisama yo tehi*

*picara syati* 'We will send a letter and present which will be worthy of you'; 107, etc. *picaradivyaavarṣaśatayupramanaśa* 'Whose span of life is a hundred divine years worthy of him'.

There are considerable phonetic difficulties in the way of this etymology. *prati-* in this dialect is represented by *paḍi-* or *prati-* but never by *pati-*. Nor is there any reason why the *a* of the first syllable should be changed to *i*. *picavaṇṇae* may be a parallel (see below, s.v.).

**picav-**: (*picavaṇṇae*, *picavita*). The same difficulties are against identifying it with *pratyarp-* as in the case of *picara-*, *pratyarha*. Further, *rp* would probably be preserved in this dialect (§ 36) and even if assimilated *pp* would not become *v*.

The meaning, too, does not correspond exactly. Skt. *pratyarp-* always means 'give back, restore' not simply 'hand over to', which is *arpayati*.

*picavaṇṇae* means 'to hand over to, entrust': 16 *maya maharayena Peta-avana caṃkura Arjunaśa picavida* 'By me the great king, Peta *avana*, has been put in charge of *caṃkura* Arjuna'; 439 *ahuno rayaka gavi picavetu* 'Now you are putting the royal cows into his hands'.

If *picav-* is really = *pratyarp-* its irregularity may be due to its being a loan-word from another dialect. Likewise *picara*. Alternatively it might be referred to an original *\*pi-cyāvayati* 'to cause to go to, send, hand over'.

**piḍita** = *piḍita-*. Used as an adverb, § 90, 'expressly'.

**piḍhiyāva**: 532: *Yāve avāṇaṃmi kilmeciya Vusmeka nama maḍu dhamēna yāve avāṇaṃmi nikastaḡa, se Caḍotaṃmi piḍhiyāva huati, sa Caḍodade palayida atra kaṃaveṃti, Yāve avāṇeṃci piḍhiyāva Yāve avāṇaṃmi kaṃavidavya*. From the general sense of the passage, it seems that *piḍhiyāva* must have something to do with *pitr* 'father'. 'A (man) called Vusmeka who is *kilmeci* in *Yāve avāna* has gone out to *Yāve avāna* by mother right (because his mother was native there). On his father's side he is of *Caḍota*. He fled from *Caḍota* (and) they have him working there (i.e. in *Yāve avāna*). People who belong to *Yāve avāna* on their father's side are to be made to work in *Yāve avāna*.' Then instructions are given for him to be sent back. It appears that labourers or serfs were more or less tied to the soil and not allowed to migrate from place to place. The actual form, *piḍhiyāva*, is quite obscure.

**pita(-u)**: § 72 (declension).

**pitupitamāḡa**: = *pitṛpaitāmaha* with the suffix *-ḡa* substituted for *-ha*, and loss of *vṛddhi* as commonly.

**Pitoe**: § 69.

**pidarana**: 648. = (?).

**piro**: (and *pirova*, *pirovala* 'keeper of the *piro*'). Probably = 'bridge', since it is something closely connected with roads which can be seized to prevent people passing: 639 *yam kala imade anati lekha*

*atra éśati paṇṭha varidavya piro śayidavya siyati tam kalammi varidavya, avi piro śayidavya* 'When there comes a letter from here (saying that) the road is to be stopped and the bridge to be seized, then it is to be stopped and the bridge is to be seized'; 120 *pirova śarva jaṇṇa kaṇṇakare aitaṇṭi...prapaṇṇa bahu kha...śe utaḡa* 'All the workmen went to the bridge...the water was very disturbed (reading *kha(lu)śa = kaluśa*)'. The passage has not been fully read, but the sense is clear. The work on the bridge had caused the water in some drinking place (*prapaṇṇa*) to become impure. Further corroboration can be drawn from 310, where it is feared some men will escape from the country—*praṭha ede maṇṇuśa anada parimargidavya, pirova Cima Kaśikaśa ca picavidavya* 'Forthwith these men are to be carefully sought for, the bridge is to be put in charge of Cima and Kaśika' (if this is a proper name)—and 333, where we hear of fugitives from Khotan getting on to the bridge. In 122 a large cow is destroyed on the Parcona bridge (i.e. by falling over): *Parcona pirovaṇṇi go mahaṇṭa 1 naṭha*.

As to the etymology it may be connected with N.Pers. *pul*, Pahl. *puhl*, Av. *parətu* and *paśu*. The original form would be *prəhwaka*, giving *\*pirhwaka*, *\*piroḡa*, *pirova* and *piro*. For the final *ḡ* disappearing compare *aganduva* and § 16. For *va*, *o*, cf. *śvaṭhaṇṇa* and *śoṭhaṇṇa*, etc., § 7.

*pivapaṇṇaṇṇae*: § 20. = *\*pi-bandhanāya* 'to bind on'.

*pivarae*: *pivaraḡa*- 'fat'. In 198 read *ko pivaraḡa* for *kopi varaḡa*.

*Piśalpiyaṇṇi*: § 31.

*Puḡohaṇṇa*: § 28.

*puṅgebha*: Read *putḡeṭsa*, § 47. Epithet of *uṭa* 'camel'. For the suffix *-tsa*, cf. *aṇḡlatsa*. Exact meaning uncertain.

*pučhama*: 534. Some object.

*puṇa*:- § 41.

*puṇṇarṭhi*: § 55.

*putradhīdarehi*: § 62.

*Puṇṇiyade*: § 14. Cf. *Buṇṇi*.

*punu*: §§ 12, 91.

*puratḡa*: § 92. = *purastāt* 'in the presence of'.

*puratḡida*: = *puratḡa* (*puratḡsthita*-).

*purata*: = *purataḡ*. Same meaning as *puratḡa*.

*puradu*: 661. = *purataḡ* in the dialect of Khotan.

*purta*: 78. The variant reading *pursa* is to be preferred (cf. s.v.).

*pursa*: Epithet of *uṭa* 74, *paśu* 157. The n.pr. *Pursavara* will mean a person who rides on a *pursa* (horse or camel). Perhaps a castrated animal from *pursa* (*purta*) *biṇṇita* (*bhind*-) 78, though of course *biṇṇita* may just as well refer to some other operation, such as making a hole in the nose or ear, etc.

*pursaka*: 383. = *pursa*.

*Pulaya*: Surname of Sunaṇṭa (8), Suḡiya (384), Kuuta (613).

*puśḡa*: 383. = (?).

Puṣṣariyade: § 49.

puṣpa: § 49.

Pusmavika: n.pr. 472. = *Bujhimoyika*, cf. § 14.

peḍa: 207. Skt. *peṣa*, *peṣaka* 'basket', Pali *peṣa*, Buddh. S. *peḍā* 'id.'

Peta aṣaṃna: See *avāna*.

peta vaṃnidaḡa: 318. = (?).

petri: 399. = *patrika*.

poḡa: § 14.

potḡa: 225. The same as *potḡoṇe(na)*. Perhaps the latter part of the word has been accidentally omitted.

potḡe: (*poṇḡe*). Connected with water (347, 397). 397 is fragmentary, but the subject seems to be that soldiers had been going into a *potḡe* for water. In 347 a *potḡe* is said to be without water, and a letter is sent about the affairs of the *potḡe* (*potḡeci karyani praceya*): 120 *ṣitḡa-potḡe* (*ṣitḡa* may be a proper name). With regard to this *potḡe* water is said to have become turbid because workmen went to mend a bridge (cf. s.v. *piro*). No. 701 is a list of people sent to keep guard over a *potḡe* (*potḡe raḥaṃna jaṃna*). The meaning 'tank, reservoir' seems most suitable.

potḡoṇa: 207. Usually *potḡoṇena*; always used in conjunction with *masu*, e.g. 637 *masu prahuḍa preṣidavya khi 3 potḡoṇena*. Apparently some particular form of wine: distinguished from *ṣamiyena* (cf. s.v.). The suffix, as Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 641 n.) remarks, would seem to be connected with Saka *-auṇa* and Toch. *-oñe*. [Read in 207 *potḡoṇena* instead of *potḡaṇa* 1.]

potage: § 60.

pothi: 17 (*caṃa pothi*), 534. Compare N.Pers. *pōst* 'skin' (?).

Pośarsa: § 14. Same as *Bośarsa*.

posara: 382. Some object.

praḡaṭa: § 5. *praḡaṭa nikhalitaṃti* 17 'They fetched out into the open'.

pracukamaṃ: 392 *pracukamaṃ nagara*. = (?).

prace: 'concerning', §§ 6, 92. Borrowed into Saka as *pracai*, Skt. *pratyaya*-.

praṭha: § 91. 'forthwith', from *pra* and *√sthā*.

pratu: § 12.

prathade: 152 *prathade eḍa lekha atra prahidemi* 'from a journey, from on a journey'. Skt. *pra-sthā*-.

pramuha: § 27.

pravamṇaḡa: = *prapannaka* 'deed, document'. The rectangular double tablets are headed *yiyo pravamṇaḡa*.

praśura: = *prapura*, § 17.

praśavita: (and *praśavitaḡa*). = 'granted, allowed', and as a noun, 'a grant'. It differs from the ordinary word for 'present', *prahuḍa*, by being used chiefly of royal grants to individuals, especially of fugitives (*palayamṇaḡa*). The idea is relinquishing one's claim to something and letting somebody else have it: 403 *iśa jeyakaṣa*

*palayanṇaḡa praṣavitagā asi* 'Here a fugitive was given as a special grant to Jeyaka', cf. 161, 355. Also of corn: 637 *aṇṇa Yitayaṣa milima 1 kala praṣavida* 'Another (thing), the *kala* made Yitaya a grant of 1 *mi*'; of a farm: 375 *suveṭṭha Cinaṣena ni goṭṭha mayā maharayena edaṣa Dmusvaṇṭaṣa praṣavita dita* 'The farm of the *suveṭṭha* was given as a special grant by me the great king to *Dmusvaṇṭa*'; 504 *prasavidavo* = 'They are to have a grant made them' (*ahuno ede prasavidavo*, the subject of the (passive) verb being the people to whom the grant is made, instead of (as usually) the thing granted).

Skt. *pra* +  $\sqrt{su}$  = 'to allow, give up, to deliver'.

**prasta**: 721. Skt. *prastha* (a measure).

**prastami**: 225. Locative of *prasta* = Skt. *prastha*-, in the sense of elevated land.

**prahatavo**: = *pradhātavya* 'to be sent' from *prahita* 'sent', § 116.

**prahita**: 'sent' might be either *prahita* from *prahinoti* or *prahita* from *pradadhāti*. The gerundive *prahatavo* points to the latter, the meaning to the former. The two verbs have probably become confused.

**prahuḍa**: §§ 5, 27.

**prahuḍartha**: § 55.

**prahuni**: 318. = Saka *prahona* 'garment' (?). B.S.O.S. VII, 514.

It might also be read *prahoni*, cf. § 4.

**prigha**: 316, 318. Lüders (*Textilien*, p. 30) identifies it with *prṅga* of the *Mahāvīyutpatti*, which means a kind of silk material.

**pricha**: § 5.

**pritiyena**: §§ 67, 70.

**priyaśpasuae**: § 50.

**prihitosmi**: § 28.

**pruch** -: § 5.

**preṣi**: S. *preṣya*-'servant'.

**preṣeyati**: § 97.

**preṣeyiṣyasi**: § 99.

## PH

**phaḍḍitaḡa**: 760. = (?).

**phalitaḡa**: 214. Some kind of horse's food.

**phalophala**: 524. Cf. Pali *phalāphala* 'all kinds of fruit'.

## PĪ

**Pñuṇṇageva**: Probably an Iranian name. The latter half of the word seems to be = O.Iran. *zaiba*-, N.Pers. *zēb* (cf. *Aurangzebe*) 'beautiful, or beautifying'. The first half is not clear.

**Pñuvasena**: Not a native name on account of the initial *pñ*.

## B

**badaṣa**: § 43.

**badho**: (also *baṇḍhava*, *baṇḍh(o)va* and *baṇṭhova*). In 331 *na ba vo thavidavo* is miswritten for this. It occurs always in a list of

phrases stating the various ways of disposing of property, e.g. 591 *esvarya huda vikrinanae badho thavaṇṇae, namani deyaṇṇae, aṇṇeṣa prahuḍa deyaṇṇae*. In distinction to the other phrases the verb used is *thavaṇṇae* 'to place' not *deyaṇṇae* 'to give'. The meaning may be 'pledge, mortgage' like the Skt. *bandhakaṃ dā-* (Kūllūka on *Manu* 8. 143, explaining *ādha* by *bhūmigodhanāda* *bhogārthaṃ bandhake dātte*). The form is difficult to explain. From the various spellings it might seem that *baṃdhova* is the best form, and this would correspond to Skt. *bāndhavaka-*. But against this Skt. *bandhu-* and its derivatives never had any meaning except that of 'relation, kinsmen'. If we take *baddho* as the original form = *baddha-* the meaning would be all right, but a final -o corresponding to the nominative or accusative is irregular. However, there are examples, § 53. In that case the *ṃ* may have been inserted from other derivatives of *bandh-*. As for the alternation of final -o and -ova, compare *piro, pirova*.

**baṃṇanae**: § 45.

**Baladeyu**: = *Baladeva*, cf. *Upateyu, Jivateyu*.

**bahl**: § 91.

**bahiyade**: § 91.

**bahu**: Declension of, § 71.

**bahudhivā**: 661. = *bahudipi-*; ? name or title of a scribe.

**biti**: § 43.

**biṃṇaṃti**: § 45.

**buo**: § 91.

**Bujhimoyika**: Iranian name. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 789.

**Butsena**: § 13.

**Budhapharṇa**: 655. Written thus for *Budhavarṇa* (?).

**Burṇi**: Place-name (?). Cf. *Puṇṇiyade* and § 14.

**bedhana**: 288. Miswritten for *vedana* or *vidhāna* (Prof. Thomas) (?).

**boyaṇṇa**: § 17.

**Boṣarsa**: Cf. *Posarsa* and § 14.

**bramaṇṇa**: 554 *śramaṇṇa braṇṇana*. Perhaps taken as an indefinite phrase out of Buddhist literary usage, rather than indicating the presence of Brahmins in Central Asia.

**brahmacariṭa**: §§ 36, 76.

## BH

**bhaḡena**: = 'on behalf of, in place of', § 92. For the development of meaning compare N.Pers. *zi-bahr-i* 'on behalf of'. The idiom may be due to Iranian influence.

**bhaja**: 566. = (?).

**bhaṭaraḡa**: § 37.

**bhaṭariae**: § 68.

**bhaṭare**: § 63.

**Bhatro**: 157. Name of a deity.

**bhana**: 149. = *bhāṇḍa* (?), cf. § 45.

**bharya pate:** § 135.

**bhaviṣya:** § 99.

**bhīgi:** or *hīgi* 318. Some article described as blue and red.

**bhīghu:** § 48.

**bhīja:** = *bīja* 'seed', § 17.

**bhīja payati:** = Skt. *bīja-paryāpti*- 'capacity for seed'. Land is not measured by area but by the amount of seed it will take to cultivate it, e.g. 549 *Samghabudhiyaṣa vaṃti buma vikrida bhīja payati milima 1 khi 10* 'He sold to Samghabudhi land (of which) the capacity for seed was *mi. 1 khi 10*'. The treatment of *ry* is not usual (§§ 36-7) as compared with *niryoga karya*. But another example is *aya 409*, which certainly = *ārya*-.

**bhīrṇita:** § 47.

**bhiyo:** 579. = Skt. *bhūyaḥ*, Pali *bhiyyo*.

**bhudva:** § 102.

**bhumāṃca:** § 62.

**bhrata:** Declension of, § 72.

## M

**maimci:** § 126.

**Mairi:** § 28.

**maḥa:** A commodity appearing among a list of items sent as tax (*palpi*) 714-15, and taken along with *satu* 'meal' as a man's provisions 505. One might think of a connection with Toch. *malke* 'milk', except that in 715 it seems to be sent a long distance (to the capital as tax). The value of the sign *ḥ* is uncertain.

**maghalartaya:** § 55.

**Maṅgeya:** § 13.

**maṭavo:** 278. The meaning required is 'should be measured'. Perhaps it is miswritten for *matavo*.

**mata:** = *myta* (?), § 5.

**matu:** Declension of, § 68.

**maṃtsa:** § 48.

**madu pitusya:** § 135.

**madhya:** § 41.

**manasikaro:** § 53.

**maṃnasiyapmi:** § 72.

**maṃnuṣa:** § 41. *maṃnuṣe*, § 60.

**mama:** § 78.

**maravara:** *B.S.O.S.* VII, 510 and 785.

**marganae:** § 103.

**maṣu:** (= *ṣmaṣū*-), §§ 38, 49.

**maṣa:** § 22.

**maṣe:** § 58.

**masu:** §§ 22, 50, 71. = 'wine', Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises', *S.P.A.W.* (1933), p. 3. For the treatment of *dh*, cf. *aṣimatra* = *adhimatra*. A similar change appears in Palestinian Gypsy (*gesū* = *godhuma*), though since it occurs in only

- one dialect it must have taken place after they left India and can have no direct connection with this. *masu* (i.e. *mazu*), § 22, itself might be an attempt to pronounce an Iranian *mađu*, but that leaves *ašmatra* unexplained. Cf. further under *šuka masu*.
- masuvi**: § 75.
- masu šađa**: 'vineyard'. = Skt. *śāla* 'enclosure, fence' (Lüders, *loc. cit.*).
- masuṣya**: 283. Read *manuṣya*.
- mahatva**: §§ 44, 72.
- mahatveya**: § 60.
- mahanuava**: § 28. Cf. *nuava*.
- mahapṭa**: § 72.
- mahi**: § 78.
- mahurağa**: 355. Something measured in *khis*. In Skt. *mahoraga* is given by the dictionaries as the root of a certain plant.
- mahuli**: Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 640) denies that this = Skt. *mahilā*. It may mean 'grandmother', because Ramotiae, who is said to be the *mahuli* of Sunarṇda (528), is mother of Sugnuta (538) and a Sugnuta is father of a Sunarṇda in the same series of documents (524). More likely however it = 'aunt' (< *mātulī*) with *t*, as very rarely, omitted and *h* as hiatus-filler (§ 28).
- milima**: = *μῆδιμος* (Prof. Thomas). Cf. *khi*. There is a confusion between *l* and *d* (δ) in Sogdian (Gauthiot, *Grammaire Sogdienne*, vol. 1, 12-13), but the evidence seems to be against Sogdian influence in these documents. Cf. also *B.S.O.S.* VII, 785.
- miši**: § 38, where it is explained as *mišrya*, but that is uncertain, cf. under *akri*. Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XII, 38), quoting 582 (*pura-nağa*) *mišiya bhuma huati, tade paru eša bhuma akri patida* 'Formerly it was *miši*-land, after that it fell *akri*', regards *miši* as = 'cultivated' and *akri* as uncultivated. In that case one might suggest a connection with Saka *ttunāšā* 'seed-field' (as representing \**tauxmamiši*-).
- mukeši**: See under *lote*.
- mugeša**: Can hardly be the same as *mukeši* because the sibilants are never confused, § 33. It is some legal expression, probably with the same meaning as *aviṇḍama* (cf. s.v.): 591 *ko... amñatha icheyati karaṇṇae mugeša giḍamti šaṇḍa ašpa 1 prahara 20 20 10* 'Whoever tries to make it different they have taken upon themselves a penalty (fine) of one *šaṇḍa* horse and 50 blows'.
- mutamṭi**: 63. = *mukt-* 'they released', § 107.
- muti lata**: Skt. *muktā latā*: *mukti* for *muktā* in *Suv. pr. S.* IV, 84.
- muli**: § 9. = *mulya*. It is used to mean both 'price' in general and also a particular unit of value: (1) 422 *niyida muli Kuṣāyaša paride uṭa agiltsa 1* 'The price was taken from Kuṣāya, 1 untrained (?) camel'; (2) 345 *taha sarva piṇḍa gaṇṇanena muli huda 1 Sa* 'So the whole sum being reckoned comes to 100 *muli*'. The locative or instrumental of *muli* is used alongside the name of the object



serving as payment to indicate how many *muli* it is worth, e.g. 437 *Kompala Suḡiyaśa ca du capariśa muliyami viyala uṭa 1 paḍichitaṃti* 'Kompala and Suḡiya received 1 wild camel worth 42 *muli*'. The following table, collected from the documents, illustrates the value of various articles in *muli*:

571	1 uṭa duvarśaga	= 50 muli
571	masu khi 10	= 10 muli
579	tavastaga hasta 13	= 12 muli
580	aśpa 1 catuvarśaga	= 40 muli
589	uṭa 1 ekavarśaga	= 40 muli
590	eka uṭa viyala	= 40 muli
590	uṭa amklatsa	= 30 muli
592	uṭa amklatsa	= 30 muli
598	khara	= 15 muli
327	1 go	= 10 muli
327	1 kojava	= 5 muli
222	1 kojava	= 10 muli

From 431 it appears that 13 hasta of tapestry (*tavastaga*) is worth one golden stater. The same is said in 579 to be worth 12 *muli*.

So provisionally we may regard the *muli* as being equal in value to  $\frac{1}{12}$  of the golden stater (*suvarṇa śadera*).

**muṣaya:** An adverb used with 'give, sell, present', meaning 'without reservation', i.e. so that the previous owner has no further claims: 621 *yo puma edaśa Saḡamovi bharya putra dhidara yaṃ ca daḡi sarva edaśa Saḡamovi muṣaya praśavita* 'Again what wife, sons and daughters and what slave-girl of him Saḡamovi (had) Saḡamovi presented all to him without reservation'; 39 *uniti teṣemi muṣaya tanuṃi hotu* 'The adopted girl belongs to them without reservation'. The etymology is obscure.

**muśka:** = *mūśika*, § 13.

**muṣḡeśu:** § 49.

**mṛga:** § 5.

**mṛda:** § 5.

**mṛdhena:** 385 *uparyam mṛdhena pratiḥami* = 'I await with the greatest impatience (?)', i.e. *amṛdhena* = *a* + Pali *middha* (Vedic *mṛdh-*, *mṛdhra*). But *upari* is not usually used to make a kind of superlative.

**meta:** Only 179 *meta paḍichitaṃti* 'They received meta'. Quite obscure.

**mepoḡa:** 721. Something sent as a present.

**Moṅḡeya:** Read *Motḡeya*, § 47. Obviously the same as *Motaḡe* (§ 13).

## Y

**ya-:** §§ 85, 127.

**yaṃ kala:** § 128.

**yajita:** § 17.

yamña: § 44.

yaṭita: 376. Read *yaṭita*.

yatu: § 12.

**yatma**: An official connected with the collection and conveyance of taxes, especially of corn. His functions are to some extent connected with those of the *aṭeta* (cf. s.v.). In 305 the *yatma* has to pack parcels of corn (*nadha*). In 374 the *yatma* Aco, along with the *tuṅṇa* Sudarṣana, assesses the annual tax at Masina. *yatma* is construed with the genitive of *aṇna* 'corn', e.g. 349 *eda aṇṇaṣa aṇña pajeka* (read *paṇṇeka*) *yatmi kartavo* 'Of this corn other *yatmas* are to be made severally'; 430 *kvavāna aṇṇaṣa yatma* '*yatma* of the *kvavāna* corn'. We also hear of them in connection with conducting camels, 23, 546.

yatha: § 130.

yadi: § 129.

yala: 431 *aṇña yala*. Cf. § 16.

yava: § 92.

Yave avāna: Cf. *avāna*.

yahi: § 131.

yitavya: 164 *aṇṇapana suṭha dhaṇṇayitavya*. A sort of causative from *dāna*- (?) ('food and drink are to be given them well').

yima: §§ 32, 82.

yiyo: §§ 32, 82.

Yirumḍhina: Cf. *avāna*.

yirka: or *ṣirka*. According to Sir Aurel Stein (quoted *Khar. Inscr.* p. 308) = 'silk'. Uncertain.

yena: § 132.

## R

racana: 225. = (?).

raja: § 41.

rajakaryani: § 61.

rajiye: § 60.

raju: Skt. *rajju*- 'rope'.

raṭhi: 574. Some part of the equipment of a vineyard *raṭhi vṛṇha paṇni giṇṇidavo*, possibly an epithet of *vṛṇha*.

raḍi: or *saḍi*; 431-2. = (?).

ratu: *B.S.O.S.* VII, 514. = Av. *ratu*. Pahl. *rat* 'authority, judge', used of the elders in an order of the *bhikṣus*. If it is really the Iranian word it is noteworthy that the final -u is preserved at so late a date.

ratriae: § 67.

Ramṣonka: Read *Ramṣotsa* and compare *Ramaṣto*, which is apparently a different form from the same base.

raya: § 17.

rayadvāri: § 58.

rayana: See *ṣamuḍa rayana*.

**rasaṃna**: 345 *rasaṃna* 2. If = Skt. *raśanā* it should have had the palatal ś: perhaps Iranian N.Pers. *rasan* 'rope', cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 786.

**rasvata**: 80. *rasaṃta* 137, 211; *rāsuvaṃta* 209. Surname or title.  
**rucate**: §§ 2, 94.

**rutriyāṃna**: 600. Epithet of *vaḍavī* 'mare' (?).

**rupya**: Skt. *rūpya* 'silver'.

**rete**: 690 *rete uṣaṃ ca*. Obscure.

**rotāṃna**: (*rotaṃ*). Some commodity which had to be sent as tax, 295, 385, etc. *curoma*, another commodity equally obscure, is often mentioned beside it, 272, 357, 430. In 272 *caṃdrikamaṃta* is mentioned along with it.

There is an Iranian \**raudana* which means 'madder' (N.Pers. *rōyan*, *rōyang*, North Balōči *rōdin*). It might possibly be that, but unless the meaning in the Kharoṣṭhi documents can be fixed, it naturally remains uncertain. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 787.

## L

**lautgairnci**: 272 *lautgairnci jaṃna*. Quite obscure. May or may not be a proper name.

**laḡesati**: Only 166, which is fragmentary. Skt. *lag-* 'follow' (?).

**laṃgho**: § 53.

**laṃcaḡa**: Seems to mean 'rightly, properly, adequately'. Cf. 562 *taha suṭha na laṃcaḡa karetu*, *maḥi maharayaṣa anatiyade aṃṣṭatha karetu* '(In behaving) thus, you certainly do not act rightly, you act differently from the command of me the great king', where the second clause more or less paraphrases the first (cf. 272, 399); 283 *khajabhajena laṃcaḡa paripalitavya* 'They are to be adequately looked after (nourished) with food'. (Very frequent in this phrase, cf. 358, 362, 475; *parival-* has the sense of N.Pers. *parvaridan*, i.e. 'nourish, feed up, fatten'.) When used in connection with paying taxes, etc. it means 'the full amount due': 622 *avi ciromaṣa laṃce iṣa anidavo* 'Also the amount of *ciroma* due is to be brought here' (*laṃce* here may be the noun from which *laṃcaḡa* is derived, or it may = *laṃcaḡa* by § 53); 586 *loteya na laṃcaḡa tita* 'He has not given an adequate ransom'.

Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XIII, 66) regards the word as derived from Skt. *lañcā* 'gift', and that it means as an adverb 'gratis', and sometimes just a gift. But the meaning does not seem so suitable in a survey of all the passages in which it occurs.

**laṭhanami**: 392. Obscure, but probably not a proper name. Rather (like *kabhoḍhami*) some particular kind of land. A connection with Pers. *dašt* 'plain, desert' is suggested in *B.S.O.S.* VII, 786.

**laṭhaya**: 298. Epithet of *kriṣivatra* 'cultivation', opposed to *apyam-tara* (= *abhya*). So apparently land lying outside a particular boundary round the village. Read *laṭhani*, taking it as an adjective from *laṭhana* (?).

- laṣi**: i.e. \**laṣni*, § 44, means 'a gift', as is shown by 678 *eṣvarya bhavayati* . . . *baṇḍhova thavaṇṇae vikrinanae aṇṇeṣa laṣi deyaṇṇae*. In this formula, which occurs frequently (cf. 582, 591, etc.), *aṇṇeṣa prahuḍa deyaṇṇae* is usually used in place of *aṇṇeṣa laṣi d°* here. Cf. N.Pers. *dāḡan* 'gift', and for the change *d > l* B.S.O.S. VII, 786.
- lasta**: 358 *na ba lasta bhaviṣyati*. It may be one word *balasta*. In the Index Verb. *ba* is taken as = *vā*, but that does not occur elsewhere. In 331 (which is given) *na ba vothavidavo* there is certainly a miswriting, *na baṇḍhova th°* is intended. Anyway the meaning is obscure.
- lastana**: 'quarrel, dispute'. = Saka *lāstana*, as Konow points out.
- lastuḡa**: Some article of dress because it is made of cloth: 566 *citra paṭa mae lastuḡa* 'a l° made of many coloured cloth'. It is frequently sent as a present. It was not of great value (184 *lahu manasiḡara matra*). Cf. B.S.O.S. VII, 786.
- lahamti**: § 27.
- laho**: §§ 4, 27.
- liṇaṣa**: Only 109. Some object sent as a present.
- liṣita**: Cf. *leṣita* and § 1.
- lihati**: § 27.
- leṇḡa**: i.e. *leṭḡa*. Only 419. Epithet of *bhuma* 'land'; *aṇṇa leṭḡa kuthala bhuma*.
- levistarena**: § 3.
- leṣpa**: Some object sent as a present (140).
- leṣ-**: Means something like 'to conduct': 376 *edaḡa Sacade uṣa 2 valaḡaṇ ca dadavya, simaṇmi leṣiṣamti tade Caḡodade stora aṭhova valaḡaṇca dadavya* 'To him from Saca 2 horses and a guard are to be given, they will conduct him as far as the boundary: then from Caḡota a horse fit for its work and a guard must be given'. Skt. *śleṣayati* 'bring near to, in contact with', § 49. (Cf. Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XII, 51.)
- lote**: In 585 *lote* is the ransom paid by a slave for his freedom: *tanu pranaṣa lote tita maṇṇuṣa Cimḡeya nama paṣavi* 4. 2. 'He gave as a ransom for his own person a man called Cimḡeya and 6 sheep'. In all other passages *lote* is used in connection with wedding contracts. No. 32 illustrates what happened: *yatha Opaṇe Peta-āvanemci Saḡapeyaṣa dhitu Cingā Opaṇe Peta-āvana kilmeyammi anida taya lode ṣvasu Cingā Saḡapeyaṣa ichida deyaṇṇae eda ṣvasu aṇṇeṣa dita, na kiṇci Saḡapeyaṣa dita* 'That Cingā took as his wife in the district of Opaṇa Peta *āvana* the daughter of Saḡapeya (a native) of Opaṇe Peta *āvana*. As her *lode* Cingā was going to give his sister to Saḡapeya; this sister he gave to others: he gave nothing to Saḡapeya'. The *lote* is something given in exchange for a wife. Here Cingā gives his own sister in exchange. Usually it is not mentioned what the *lote* was. It may always have been a question of exchange of women, or there may have been pay-

ments for a wife in cattle, etc. (such are actually never mentioned). The custom of exchanging women is illustrated also by 279 *Yāve avānaṃmi kilmeci kala Acufiṃyasa śvasu Cakuṃāae nama Ajiyama avānaṃmi kilmeci Pgena bharya aniti huati. taya striyae Yāve avānaṃmi (lo)te—šina nidaya, tatra taya putra dhidara jātaṃti, Yāve avānaṃmi kilmeciye Caṃcā Pgena dhitu bharya anida tade avasiṃhe sarvi Ajiyama avānaṃmi tanuṃāe hutāṃti, matuāe bhāgena Yāve avānaṃmi Caṃcāda bharya Sarpina huda 'Cakuṃāae sister of kala Acufiṃya a native of Yāve avāna was taken to wife by Pgena of the kilme of Ajiyama avāna. Of that woman lote (and mukeṣi) were not taken to Yāve avāna. There (in Aj<sup>o</sup> a<sup>o</sup>) sons and daughters were born to her. Caṃcā kilmeci of Yāve avāna, took to wife the daughter of Pgena. All the rest (of Pgena's children by Cakuṃāae) have remained belonging to Ajiyama avāna. On behalf of her mother Sarpina is in Yāve avāna as wife of Caṃcā'. Here it is clear that no lote (and mukeṣi) having been given for Cakuṃāae, her daughter Sarpina, when grown up, is married by a man in Yāve avāna, and this serves instead of a lote. The interesting thing is that, as far as one can judge, the dealings are not between families but between avānas (parishes or townships). It was necessary that one woman having gone from Yāve avāna to Ajiyama avāna in marriage, another should come from Aj<sup>o</sup> to Ya<sup>o</sup> in exchange. Further information on the regulations prevailing between avānas is supplied by 481 *Yapḡu viṇṇaveti yatha eḍaśa śvasu Suḡnumae nama Dhaṃapri Sumadataśa ca matu, na loti mukeṣi diti...pruchidavo yo Suḡnumae veḡa kilme dhaṃa hoati taha Suḡnumae putranāṃ eḍa palḡi Yāve Avānaṃmi kartavo 'Yapḡu informs us that his sister called Suḡnumae is mother of Dhaṃapri and Sumadata; lote and mukeṣi has not been given... You must enquire, and whatever Suḡnumae's veḡa kilme dhaṃa was, according to this, tax is to be provided by her sons in Yāve avāna'. It appears from 474 that Suḡnumae had been married by the monk Sarpapala, who belonged to Catīṣa deva avāna. The meaning of veḡa kilme (usually applied to stri) is unfortunately obscure, but it emerges from this document that until the lote (and mukeṣi) had been paid by the husband for her, or by his children on his behalf, they were under liability to pay the tax in the avāna from which the wife came, which was assessed on her head. lote usually occurs side by side with mukeṣi (474, 481, 585) without it being possible to distinguish exactly between the two terms. Occasionally they occur by themselves: lote 32, mukeṣi 338, 555. It may indicate different ways in which a substitute for a wife taken was made, e.g. if lote as suggested by 32 (see above) meant providing a wife for the people from among whom a wife was taken, mukeṣi might mean making some kind of payment. But this is uncertain. Another term which seems to have some connection with this custom is muṣḍhaṣi in 573 *Aral-***

*piyaṣa matu Ajiyama avānade aniti huati, taha matuae muṣḍhaṣi ta kuḍiya atra nidati* 'Aralpi's mother was taken as wife from Ajiyama avāna, and so they took that girl there as *muṣḍhaṣi* (something like 'as a return for') her mother'. It appears that the girl was adopted by Cateya and Cataraga (presumably of Ajiyama avāna) as a kind of return because her mother came from there. All the same the usual payment for an adopted child was made for her.

Prof. Thomas (*B.S.O.S.* vi, 522 ff.) wants to regard the *mukeṣi* as some individual by whom *lote* was paid, but it necessitates forcing the grammar and syntax of certain passages, e.g. by regarding *mukeṣina* as instrumental of *mukeṣi* (instead of *mukeṣi na*), although the instrumental of nouns in *-i* is invariably *-iyena*, § 70.

*lomaṭi*: 17. = 'foxes'. Skt. *lomaṭaka*-.

## V

*vaka*: (at 574 *vaga*). = 'rent' paid for the use of land: 498 *mahi atra bhumaḥhetra na kasya ditaḡa kṛiṣaṇnae, tasmārtha ahuno iṣa Lpipeyaṣa paride vaka giḍemi, taha bhumaḥhetra eḡaḡa Lpipeyaṣa kṛiṣaṇnaye, tasya kṛiṣidavo* 'I have a field there, which has not been given to anyone to plough. Therefore I have here received rent from Lpipeya, so (I have given) the field to this Lpipeya to plough, it is to be ploughed by him'. Similarly in 496 the *vaka* paid by Lpipeya for a piece of land is two *khi* of ghee. In 559, 574 *vaka aṇna* 'vaka corn' is that part of the produce which is paid to the owner of the land.

*vakuṭha*: = *apakruṣṭha* (?). If so it is irregular, § 37. It is the participle of *vakoṣaṃti* (see below).

*vakoṣaṃti*: Meaning and etymology uncertain. It occurs only rarely: 298 *Caku Moḡi Aṣena ṣaca lastana kritamti, Caku vakosida goṭhi kaṃa karaṇnae Aṣena Moḡiya ṣaca rayadvarammi vakoṣaṃti garahaṇnae* 'Caku, Moḡi and Aṣena made a law-suit. Caku was assigned the duty of doing the work at home while Aṣena and Moḡi take upon themselves the part of presenting the complaint at the king's court'. Such is obviously the general meaning of the sentence. Similarly 750 *na cojho Lpipeyaṣa vivataṇmi vakuṭha nevi garahida* may mean something like 'He did not take part in Lpipeya's law-suit and did not present a complaint'; 107 *puna śruyati suḡe draṃghadare atra punar eva (tu le) ṣena vakoṣaṃti ayaga karyesu* 'Further it is heard that the *suḡe* (= ?) officials are again interfering in the affairs of your worship ((*tu le*) *ṣena* = ?)'.

*vaghu*: Only 383 *uṭa vaghu*. A kind of camel.

*vacari*: Some kind of vessel used for holding ghee (159), corn (266), meal (*satu* 214), pomegranates (*dhaḡima, taḡima* 617, 295). They were of various sizes. A *vacari* of 1 *khi* is mentioned (295) and

one of 4 *khi*. There is no indication as to what they were made of, whether wood, earthenware, etc.

**vacarina**: 345. Apparently the same as *vacari*.

**vacitu**: § 102.

**vačhava**: 182. Another reading is *ra°*, which is perhaps to be preferred: *esa rayaka uṭavala purva rayaka uṭavalana rajade vačhava deyiṣyaṇti* 'He is a keeper of the royal camels; formerly they would give to the royal camel-keepers a guard (or guards) from the realm (administration)', i.e. in case of attacks by bandits, etc.

**vačhu**: 630 *vačhu jaṃna* and 338 *nave avaṣa vačhu prasavetu* 'You are certainly sending new *vačhus*'. They were supplied by the *uryaḡas*. There is no clue to the nature of their functions.

**vajo**. (1) A mistake for *vara*: 419 *bhiti vajo*. *bhiti vara* 'a second time' regularly occurs in this phrase. (2) *bhiṣa vajo* appears in 580 and 587 as a substitute for the usual *bhiṣa payati*. An attempt to explain *payati* is made under *bhiṣapayati*. The etymology of *vajo* is quite obscure.

**vajita**: § 102.

**vaṭaḡa**: (1) 357. Written by mistake for *vaṭayaḡa* (see below) unless it is another form of the word = Pali *upaṭṭhāka*-. (2) *khaṃnavata-geṣi* = 'you are a procrastinator' from \**kṣanavartaka*- according to Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XIII, 67). The treatment of the *kṣ* (usually = *čh*, § 48) is irregular.

**vaṭayaḡa**: (and *vaṭhayaga*). = Skt. *upasthāyaka* 'attendant'. The same form is borrowed into Khotanese *vaṭhāyaa*- (Konow, *Saka Studies*, Vocab.), e.g. 579 *kori Ṣpaḷpayasa vaṭayaḡa Ṣirāsa sačhi*, 'Ṣirāsa, servant of the *kori Ṣpaḷpaya* is a witness'; 622 *ede uṭehi toṃgha vaṭhayagana ṣadha tahi puraṭhita iṣa anidavo* 'These camels are to be brought here along with the *toṃghas* and their assistants, under your supervision'.

**vaṭhayaga**: (see above), § 49.

**vaḡavi**: 'mare', § 68.

**vaḡaviyani**: § 61.

**vapṭade**: § 94.

**vapṭi**: = *upāṇṭe* 'in the presence of, near, with'. Khotanese *bendi*.

Illustrations of its use are 546 *ogu Bhimaṣenaṣa vapṭi garahiṣyama* 'We will make a complaint before the *ogu Bhimaṣena*'; 579 *tivira Raṃṣotsaṣa vapṭi bhuma vikrida* 'He sold land to the scribe *Raṃṣotsa*'; 24 *yatha eḡaṣa dajha Sarpiḡaṣa vapṭi Caule aṣpa ṛna nikhalati* 'That *Caule* has a horse out on loan with his slave *Sarpiḡa*'. Cf. § 92.

**vatu**: 140. Something sent as a present to a woman.

**vamṇapṭe**: 517. Surname or title of *Balasena*.

**vaniye**: 'merchants', § 17.

**vayam**: § 78.

**vara**: For *pače vara*, see s.v. *pačēvara*.



**varaḡa:** (1) 198 *kopi varaḡa*. Read *ko pivaraga* 'which(ever) is fat'.  
(2) 667 *udhisa varaḡa na oḡita*. Obscure because the text is fragmentary.

• **varaya:** (1) 291. = 'part'; cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 787. (2) 371 *eka varaya bhuya iṣa gameṣiṣama* 'Once again we will examine them here' = *vāra* 'time' (and *-ka > ya*).

**varayaṃ:** 206 *ma iṃci varayaṃ bhaviṣyati, ma mahi toṣa kariṣyutu* 'Don't blame me in case there is nothing to stop it' (taking it as = *vāraka-*, but the construction is exceedingly difficult and obscure).

**vartaḡe:** = *vartaḡaka*. (*Lokaprakāṣa*, ed. Weber, p. 98, quoted by Prof. Rapson, *Khar. Inscr. Index Verb.*) There ought not to be an intervocalic *ḡ*. It becomes *ḡ*. The reading is doubtful. *varaṃḡe* is a possible alternative.

**vartamana:** Is used as a substantive meaning 'what is happening, events, news' in the phrase e.g. 272 *yahi Khema Khotanṃade vartamana haḡḡhati iṃṡṡu ami mahi maharayaṣa padamulaṃmi viṃṡṡadi lekha prahadavya* 'If there is any news from Khema and Khotan verily a letter of information should be sent to the feet of me the great king'. Cf. also 165 *yo iṣa vartamana Lpimsuṡaṣa paride ṡṡadartha bhavidavo* 'What the news is here, you must learn from Lpimsu'.

**vartamano:** § 53.

**vardhi:** 565. = *vrddhi-* 'growth' with *guṇa* taken from the verb *vardha-*.

**varmi:** or *sarmi*; 163. Something to do with a camel, but the reading of the whole passage is uncertain.

**varṣaḡa:** 311 *hastavarṣaḡa*, something sent as a present; 318 *varṣaḡa* 1, among a list of objects stolen; 243 *hastavarṣe* 3.

**varṣaḡana:** 530 *uṡa varṣaḡana cimtṡdavo*; \**grana* possibly to be read (i.e. *varṣagra(ha)na*, cf. *danagrana*). Possibly also *varṣaḡana(na)*, the meaning in any case being 'The age of the camel is to be reckoned'.

**valaḡa:** = *pālaka-*. The *v-* is due to compounds like *paṡuvala*, *uṡaṡala*, etc.

**valaḡḡhidavo:** 569 *emu kaṡavo yatha uṡṡniya mamṡuṡa valaḡḡhidavo* 'He is to be done to as an adopted person... (?)...'. Obscure. Read perhaps *yatha uṡṡniya mamṡuṡa va laḡḡhidavo* (= *manuṡya iva*) 'He is to be characterised as an adopted person'.

**vala matra:** 573 *Yimila laṡiṡya pruchama vala matra na kiṡci* 'We do not ask of Yimila any gift, not even a hair (*vāla-*)'.

**valiyana:** 725 *avi kaṡṡṡha valiyana paḡṡiyaṡa anada ganana pricha kartavo* 'Also a careful inquiry into the accounts of the tax is to be made by the (*k*)aṡṡṡha vali'. The first member seems to be a variant of *gaṡṡṡa*, *kaṡṡṡa* (= Ir. *gaṡṡa*), i.e. Ir. *ḡanza-* (?).

**vavala:** 585 *camari vavala* 1. Probably dittography for *camari vala* 'chowrie'.



**vaśidemi:** 'I read', § 17.

**vaṣe:** 534 *vaṣe* 4, in a list of objects deposited.

**vaṣḍhiga:** Obscure. 622 *eṣa masu parvatammi giṇṇidavo vaṣḍhiga kartavo* 'This wine must be taken to the mountain, and a *vaṣḍhiga* must be made'; 634 *tuo masu milima 4 2 nikhalidavo, Cgito Cakuṭala tahi ṣadha parvatammi gaṇṭavo vaṣḍhiga karaṇṇāe* 'By you 6 *milima* of wine is to be brought out (provided) and Cgito Cakuṭala has to go with you to the mountain to make a *vaṣḍhiga*'; 637 *kala Kirteya iṣa agata Caḍotammi parvatammi vaṣḍhiga kṛta* 'kala Kirteya came here to Caḍota and made a *vaṣḍhiga* on the mountain'. It may have been some kind of regular festival held on the mountain, at which wine was consumed.

**vasarṇmi:** In the phrase *ima varṣavasarṇmi* = 'Rainy season'. Compare Saka *varṣavāyasa* (B.S.O.S. VIII, 932).

**vasu:** An official title. The *vasu* is mentioned in close connection with the *aḡeta* in the formula (571, 715, etc.) *ko paṭima kalaṇṇmi vasu aḡeta rayadvarammi codeyati vedeyati*. . . 'Whoever at a later time shall find fault or bring the matter up either before the *vasus* and *aḡetas* (i.e. the local judicial authorities) or at the king's court. . .'. In 714 the *vasus*, *aḡetas* and *yatmas* are summoned to the king's court, on account of an inquiry into the conditions of taxation. *Vasus* were common; about twenty-five are mentioned.

**vastarna:** Is perhaps = *upastaraṇa* rather than *avastaraṇa*. It is doubtful if *ava-* could ever appear as *va-*. Either it remains as *ava-* or it is contracted into *o-*.

**vastaraṇnena:** Only in the obscure phrase 431-2 *eṣa masu garva astarana vastaranena vikrinidavo*. It is also possible to read *astaranena* (432, note 1).

**vastava:** (and *vastavya*). = *vāstavya* 'residing in, an inhabitant of'.

**vikranarṇnae:** § 103. = *vikrinanae* (which also occurs). Since it occurs a number of times (586-7, 590, 592) it must be a genuine form and not simply a mistake for *vikrinanae*.

**vikrinita:** 'sold', § 107.

**vikriṣaṇtu:** 'you will sell', § 93. For \**vikriṣatu*; on the insertion of *anusvāra* where it does not belong, cf. § 47.

**vijitaḡena:** § 112.

(*vicinṇanae*): 654. Probably to be read (*vikrinṇanae*).

**viṇṇavatu:** § 93.

**viṇṇavayarṇmi:** § 104.

**viṇṇaveti:** (and other forms with *ṣ*). § 29.

**vito:** An epithet connected with *aṣpa* 'horse' (209, 415, 574, 648), *paṣu* 'sheep' (609) and *go* 'cow' (157, so read instead of *ṣato*). It may be placed either before or after the noun with which it is used, e.g. 609 *vito paṣu* 1; 648 *aṣpa* 1 *vito*. The meaning is quite uncertain.

**vithida:** (*vithiṣyati*, causative *vithavideṣi*, etc., verbal noun *vithana*). = Skt. *vi-ṣthā-*. It is remarkable that the dental *th* always

- appears. It must have been reintroduced from the simple verb *thiyati*. The meaning is always active in the sense of 'keep away from, hold back from', not only in the causative *vithav-*, but also regularly in the simple verb *vithi-*, e.g. 165 *ma imci tomgāna paride uṭa vithiṣyatu* 'Do not keep the camel back from the *tomgas*'. The assumption of an active sense on the part of this verb was probably associated with the change of the past participle passive to an active past tense (see § 105), so that *vithita* meaning 'stood aside, set aside, kept back' developed in a manner parallel to the ordinary transitive verb the meaning of 'he put aside, kept back'. Similarly the verbal noun *vithana* has the active sense of 'keeping back', 57 *ma vithana kartavo* 'There must be no keeping back, putting aside', with reference to the tax that is demanded in the letter.
- vidapana?**: or *vidapa* 1; 318. Separation of words uncertain. Some object among a list of things stolen.
- vinaṭiṣyaṃti**: The sense of the passage seems to demand that it is = *vinaṭiṣyaṃti*: 368 *athava kala...atikramiṣaṃti, yo Sacammi karyani vinaṭiṣyaṃti sarva ahu maharaya tahi paride parimargiṣya* 'On the other hand if they...overstep their time, whatever affairs in Saca are ruined, I the great king will seek everything from you'. Read probably *vinaṭiṣyaṃti* with *j* for *ś* (§ 21). The akṣaras representing *j* and *ṣ* are not very different (*Khar. Inscr.* Plate XIV).
- vinila**: 292 *avi bhija dadavya yena kṛṣivadra vi ni la vistirna kariṣyati*. No doubt a mistake for *vipula*, compare 216 *vistirna vipula cimtīdavo*. That is obviously what the sense demands: 'And also seed is to be given so that they can make full and extensive cultivation'.
- vibhaśita**: = \**vibhajita*- for *vibhakta* (which also occurs), § 17. The alternative reading *vibhayita* is probably to be preferred because *j* seems always to have become *y* (while *c* becomes *ś*, *j* (*ṣ*)). The meaning is 'made a legal decision'.
- viyala**: = *vyāla*-. Epithet of *uṭa* 'camel' meaning 'wild, bad to manage'. Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 647 ff.) wants to separate it from this and regards it as a native word. But the group *vy* is unfamiliar in the native language.
- viyalitavo**: (*viyalidavo*, *vyalidavo*). Always in the formula addressing letters, e.g. 140 *bhaṭaraṅānāṃ ṣoṭhaṅga Lpīpeya Sarpinae ca padamulaṃmi viyalidavo*. According to Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XII, 15) = \**vijālitavya*- 'to be untied'.
- viyoṣita**: (*viyoṣidavo*, etc., also *vyoṣ-*), §§ 37, 42. = 'hand over (a payment that is due)': 434 *eda Kutreyaṣa viyoṣidavo, Budhasenaṣa niyidavo* 'This (horse) is to be delivered by Kutre and taken by Budhasena'; 142 *Lpīpeya paṭevāra avamīcae dīta milima 1 khi 1 yahi purvika iṣa giṇṇaṃti atra diguna viyoṣeṃti tena vidhanena atra ṣoṭhaṅga Lpīpeyaṣa paṭevāra viyoṣitavo* 'Lpīpeya gave some food as a loan, *mi* 1, *khi* 1; the traditional rule is that people pay back

twice as much as they receive; according to that rule the food is to be repaid to the *ṣoṭhaṅga Lpīpeya*'.

The verb is no doubt = Pkt. *vosiraṭ*, which the grammarians derive from *vy-ava-srj-*. That would not account for this form, which seems to represent \**vy-ava-srayati*. This is further supported by the forms which occur (without *vi-*) in the *Mahāvastu*, cf. Senart's note on i. 13. 6. There are three forms: *osarati*, *osirati* and *ośirati*. The difference of the vowel (*a* and *i*) would be understandable, if it were a svarabhakti vowel out of an original group *śr*, and the *ś* in the third form may be original.

**virāga**: § 16.

**vilōṭa**: 'plundering', usually in conjunction with *aloṭa*, e.g. 494 *Khotamniyana aloṭa vilōṭade purva* 'Before the ravaging and plundering by the Khotanese'. The *ṭ* (not *ḍ*) indicates a double consonant -*ṭṭ-*. The corresponding Sanskrit word appears as *luṇṭh-* or *luṇṭ-*, with a nasal inserted.

**vilomaya**: 510. Probably to be read *vilomani*.

**vivatha**: = *vivāda-*, § 26.

**viṣati**: '20', § 46.

**viṃśpade**: Only 82 *Suṅgutaṣa viṃśpade Cimṅeṣaṣa śatade* 'From Suṅguta's *viṃśpa* and Cimṅe's *śata*'. *śata*, literally 'hundred', is an administrative division: *viṃśpa* being used parallel to it must be something the same, but the form is obscure. Phonetically it must represent *viśva-*, which does not fit the sense.

**viśaj-**: 'to send'. The two forms *viśaj-* and *viśarj-* are used indiscriminately, § 37.

**viśalavita**: = *viśaṃlap-*, § 47.

**vismaridaṅga**: 'forgotten'. The group *sm* is preserved in this word though usually *s* is omitted. Cf. § 49.

**viheṭa**: § 18. Usually *viheḍ-*.

**viheḍeti**: = *viheṭhayati* 'trouble, molest, harass': 164 *avi ca ahono iṣa Peta āvanemciye palpi dhama prace suṭha viheḍemti* 'And now here the people of Peta *āvana* are causing trouble about the conditions of taxation'; 206 *Sujata iṣa suṭha viheḍitamti* 'They harassed Sujata a great deal here'.

**vucati**: § 94.

**vuta**: 655. = *upta* 'sown'.

**vurcuṅga**: Denotes a particular class of people: 554 *sarva tranṅghadhare goṭha bhāṭara jaṃṇa śramaṇṇa bramaṇṇa vurcuṅga śaca ede jaṃṇa . . . iṣa anitavo* 'All the state officials, the people who are heads of houses, monks, brahmins and *vurcuṅgas* . . .' *vurcuṅga* is a title of Luṭhu in 277; *vurcuṅga luṭhuṣa pradejade* 'From the district of the *vurcuṅga* Luṭhu'. We also have the phrase *vurcuṅgana pradejade* 'From the district of the *vurcuṅgas*' twice (277, 304), both times heading lists of camels and the individuals connected with the transaction.

**vuryaṅga**: Some kind of official. Four or five people are given this

title: Opgeya (290, 384), Vuru (569), Ratge (586, 715), Pgiata (579). In 215 *vuryaga* is given as a possible alternative reading to the one given in the text. The *vuryaga* Opgeya is head of a *pradeja* 'district': 762 *aṇṇa muli vuryaga Opgeyasa pratejade lihitaga* 'The price of the corn from the district of Opge was written'. A variant of the word is *uryaga* (cf. § 30) in 630 *treya uryagana paride jaṇṇa 10 4 1 kala Puṇṇabalasa dadavo* 'From the three *uryaga* 15 people are to be given to *kala Puṇṇabala*'.

*vṛtaḡa*: = *vṛddhaka*-, § 24.

*vṛdhe*: Plural, § 60.

*vega*: (also *vega*). In the phrase *vega kilme striyana* the term indicates some class of women: 211 *vega* (so read instead of *draga*) *kilme striyana palpi na aniṣṣanti* 'They will not bring the tax of the *vega kilme* women'; 714 *avi vega kilme striyana palpi spura pruchidavo* 'Also the tax of the *vega kilme* women is to be demanded (or enquired into) in full'. After general instructions about *palpi* 'tax', the *palpi* of the *vega kilme* women is mentioned by itself as a special class. 165 *vega kilme striyana palpi bhuma na va ka aṇṇa spora viṣajitavo* admits of two readings, either *bhuma navaka aṇṇa* as in the text or *bhumana vaka aṇṇa*. Translated according to the latter reading it runs: 'The tax of the *vega kilme* women (and) the corn paid as rent (see under *vaka*) for the lands is to be sent in full.' 481 *Yapgu viṇṇaveti yatha edaḡa svasu Suḡnumae nama Dhamapri Sumadataḡa ca matu, na loti mukeṣi diti . . . pruchidavo, yo Suḡnumae vega kilme dhamā hoati taha Suḡnumae putraṇaṇ eda palpi Yaḡe avanaṇmi kartavo* 'Yapgu says that his sister called Suḡnumae is the mother of Dhamapri and Sumadata *loti* and *mukeṣi* have not been given . . . you must enquire into it, what obligations Suḡnumae has concerning *vega kilme*, this tax is to be paid by the sons of Suḡnumae in *Yaḡe avana*'. There is obviously not enough material here for deciding the meaning of the word, but it is possible that it represents \**vēka* out of Iranian *vidavak* (Pahl. *vēvak*, N.Pers. *bēvah*), meaning 'widow'. Certainly Suḡnumae in 481 was a widow, because the dealings are with her sons, not her husband. Even then the phrase *vega kilme* is difficult; *kilme* usually means something like 'district'. The *vega kilme* might mean something like the 'widows' department', 'widows' state'.

*veda*: (or *reda*). A particular object (655).

*veya*: 'we', §§ 6, 78.

*vera saṃṣaya*: 283 *yo teṣa vanti purimaḡa vera-saṃṣaya taṇ vismaritavya* 'They must forget their old hatred and suspicion'.

*velaṇṇmi*: § 67.

*vela velaya*: § 67.

*vevatuḡa*: § 75.

*vothavidavo*: 331. It is not equal to *vyavasthāpayitavya*-. Initial *vy*- is not assimilated to *v* (§ 42). The passage runs: *na vikrinidavo*

*na ba vo thavidavo nevi gohade dura nikkhalidavo.* By comparison with similar formulas (see s.v. *bandhova*) there is little doubt that *ba vo* has been miswritten for *badho* or *bandhova*.

**vyāga** : = *vyaya* 'expense', § 16.

**vyalidavo** : See *viyalitavo*.

**vyarivala** : *vihāra pāla*-, cf. § 28.

**vyalpi** : Fem. of *vyāla* 'wild', § 31.

**vyavasthavidaga** : 229 'arranged, settled'.

**vyochimna** : 506. = *vyavachinna*- used as an active past tense (§ 107).

The form *vyochinnida*- is the usual one; 'decided'.

**vyoṣeti** : See *viyoṣeti*.

✓ **vraçhi** : 586 *vraçhi chimnamnae* obviously represents *vrkṣa* 'to cut down the trees'. Probably miswritten for *vrīṣha* (i.e. the vowel stroke attached to the wrong akṣara). That would regularly = Skt. *vrkṣa*, § 5.

## V

**veṣi** : 719. Cannot = *veṣyā* on account of the *ṣ*. The palatal *ṣ* is always kept distinct.

## S

**śakara** : 'sugar', § 37.

**śakoma** : § 95.

**śagri** : Epithet of *masu* 'wine' (or 'grapes') 349, opposed to *śuki masu* (see s.v. *śuka*). It seems to be equivalent to *śaḍi*, which occurs twice (169 and 221), and perhaps should be read so. *śaḍi* would mean 'wine or grapes fresh from the vineyard' (*śaḍa*).

**śaḥhami** : (*śaḥhe, śaḥhyami*), §§ 41, 99.

**śamḍa** : Epithet of *aṣṭa* 'horse'. No doubt = Skt. *śaṇḍha*, meaning 'a castrated horse'. The confusion of sibilants is noticeable, but the writing wavers in Sanskrit between *śaṇḍa* and *śaṇḍha* (Monier-Williams, *Skt. Dict.*). We find initial *ś-* for instance in the *Bower MS.* (see the Index, s.v. *śaṇḍya*).

**śaḍa tammi** : § 18.

**śata** : An administrative division meaning something like 'a hundred (households)'. Frequently at the head of lists containing accounts of taxes, etc., e.g. 168 *Svayaṣa śadaṃmi masu śeṣa khi* 10 4 'In the *śada* of Svaya, arrears of wine 14 *khi*'.

**śata racana** : Something among a list of objects stolen (225).

**śato go** : Read *vito*, as suggested alternatively.

**śadani** : Plural, § 61.

**śadavida** : An official title. They were closely connected with the *karsenavās*. They are mentioned together, e.g. 482 *edaṣa kilme-yaṃmi Molpina bhuma ladhaye, śadavida karsenava achiṃnamti, na oḍḍanti kriṣaṇīnae* 'In his *kilme* Molpina has received some land, the *śadavidas* and *karsenavās* take it from him and will not let him plough'. Also in 86. They are mentioned as transporting the

commodities paid as tax to the king (159, 247); Ricikṅga is called a *śadavida* at 715, a *karsenavā* at 590.

One might regard it as a denominative from *śada* meaning 'a person put in charge of a *śada*' (see above s.v.). Of the people given the title of *śadavida*, most are mentioned as being in charge of *śada*'s, namely Suṅṅa (76; 247), Yapṅu (76; 656), Maṣḍhiḅe (41; 436), Kapḅeya (41; 569). The title is comparatively not very frequent, about nine being mentioned by name.

**śamuḁa raya(na):** Occurs twice: 252 *śamuḁa rayana khayana māṁtsa dadavo* 'śamuḁa rayana and meat to eat shall be given'; 387 *ahuno śamu(ḁa) rayana iṁci viṣajidavo sudha namata 2 viṣajidavo*. In the latter passage it is obvious that \**raya na iṁci* should be read, because *iṁci* does not occur by itself but only with the negatives *na* and *ma*. Translate: 'Now the *śamuḁa raya* are (or is) not to be sent, only (*sudha*) the two felt garments are to be sent.'

The significance of the term is quite obscure. In 387 *śamuṁta* is given as a more probable reading in the corrections (Khar. Inscr. p. 292). If so it may be the same as *śamuta* in 15, which is equally obscure.

**śamuta:** 15. Possibly the same as *śamuṁta* (*śamuḁa*) (see above).

**Śamṅena:** § 13.

**śaratapmi:** § 72.

**śavāvitavya:** Causative of *śap-*, § 104.

**śasana:** = *śāsana*, § 33.

**śiṁḅavera:** 'ginger', § 5.

**śiḅra:** 'quickly', § 90.

**śiṭha** (*śās*): 'punishment, chastising': 248 *śiṭha nigrāha kartavya* 'Chastising and punishment is to be made'; 248 *ahuno Cimolaḅa śiṭha kiḁa prahara dita* 'Now chastisement was performed on Cimola, blows were given'. Similarly 371, 517.

**śiṭhidavya:** 482 *go aviṁdama śiṭhidavya* 'They are to be punished by paying a cow as damages'. On double formations like this see § 116.

**śiṭhe:** 'remaining, left over', 305, 519. = *śiṭṭaka* (*śiṭ-*). On *-e < aka*, see § 53.

**śitiyaṁmi:** Seems obviously from 678 to mean 'side': *Kroraiṁṅaṁmi mahaṁta nagaraḅa daḅhina śitiyaṁmi bhuma* 'Land in Kroraina on the right-hand side of the great city'. The only other passage where it occurs is 604 *yaṁ kālaṁ Ramakaḅa śitiyaṁmi Caḅḅeya soṁḅha anita* 'At the time when Caḅḅeya brought *soṁḅha* (= ?) to the side of Ramaka'. The reading *yiti-* is also possible (Khar. Inscr. p. 308).

**Śilaprava:** § 20.

**śilpiḅa:** 'artisan', § 40.

**śiśila:** = *śiṭhila* 'slack', § 50.

**śuka:** Epithet of *masu* 'wine' or 'grapes' (see s.v.). Not = *śulka* 'tax' as Lüders ('Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises',

*S.P.A.W.* (1933), p. 6) takes it, because it is used exclusively of *masu* and never of other commodities, while the usual word for 'tax' is *palpi*.

*masu* undoubtedly means wine, because it is referred to as a liquid (cf. s.v. *masu* and 633, 175). Possibly however it may have had the meaning of 'grapes'. At any rate *śuka* is easiest to explain on that supposition, i.e. *śuska*- 'dried grapes'. The aspirated form *śukha* occurs once (387). On the omission of aspiration see § 24. More difficult is the fact that the regular treatment of *śk* is *śṣ* (see § 49).

Dried grapes also figure in Tibetan documents from the same region. Prof. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.* (1934), p. 475.

If *masu* means wine, *śuka* might be regarded as connected with the Skt. *śukta*- meaning 'fermented'. The relationship of the two forms would be something like that between Pkt. *mukha*- and Skt. *mukta*-. A further possibility is *śukla*, referring to the colour of the wine.

*śūga bhava*: (°*Bava*) 252. Quite obscure.

*śudha*: 'cleared off; clearing off' (of payments, debts, obligations).

Usually in the phrase *śudha upagata*. Cf. *śodheti* in the sense of 'pays off'.

*śune lomaṭi*: 'dogs and foxes' (see s.v. *lomaṭi*).

*śeṣa*: 'arrears' of tax.

*śodhitavo*: (*śodheyiṣyasi*, etc.). = 'pays off' of *śudha*.

*śpeta*: = *śveta*, § 49.

*śramam*: = *śramana*, § 13.

*śrutagena*: § 112.

*śruniti*: Indecl. part., § 102.

*śruyati*: 'it is heard', § 94.

*śvasu*: 'sister', §§ 22, 49, (decl.) 68.

*śvasti*: § 49.

## §

*śada*: See *B.S.O.S.* VII, 514. There are two alternatives: (1) that it = N.Pers. *šād*, etc. 'pleased'. If so it is interesting, because the Khotanese Saka is excluded as the dialect from which it was borrowed. They have *tsāta*-; (2) that it is Indian Pali *sāta* 'pleasant', *assāta*- 'unpleasant', out of *śrāta*-, 'cooked', hence 'sweet'. In view of the prevalence of Iranian influence in the language, the first alternative is probably to be preferred, as being less complicated.

*śamdedavo*: § 116.

*śadosmi*: § 106.

*śamṇa*: 'hemp', Skt. *śāṇa*, with palatal. Cf. N.Pers. *šan* (š=ś).

*śamana*: = *śramana*, § 68.

*śamimna*: 318. Some article.

*śamiyena*: A completely obscure term used in connection with *masu*



'wine' (637) and *amna* 'corn' (103). Also *šamiyo* (225), e.g. 703 *še amna saṃgalidavya Saṃgošasya picavidavya milima 4 1 du khi šamiyena* 'That corn is to be collected and delivered to Saṃgaša, five *milima* and 2 *khi*, *šamiyena*'; 637 *Cikiṃto, vasu Saḡamoya Tumpala Cakola šaca masu parvatešu šamiyena milima 4 2 giḡati* 'Cikiṃto, the *vasu* Saḡamoya Tumpala and Cakola took wine into the hills *šamiyena* 6 *milima*'.

*šayati*: 'seizes'. = *šrayati* -te §§ 6, 38: 324 *vasu Yonuša dajha maṃmuša Saṃrpina nama Supiya šayitaṃti, Cinašgašiyasa prahuḡa prahitaṃti* 'The Supis seized a slave man of the *vasu* Yonu called Saṃrpina and sent him as a present to Cinašgaši'; 713 *yaṃ ca yudhaṃmi maritaṃti, yaṃ ca jivaṃtaḡa šayitaṃti* 'Both those which they slew in battle and those they took alive'.

*šingā poṅge*: i.e. *šitḡa poṅge*, cf. § 47. See s.v. *poṅge*.

✓ *šilpoḡa*: 'document' or 'tablet'. Some of the documents refer to themselves as *eda šilpoḡa* (470). They are regularly mentioned as being written *šilpoḡa lihitaga* (312, 470). Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 652) compares Toch. A. *šlyok* = Skt. *śloka*. It is there perhaps a native Tocharian word identified with the Sanskrit rather than a borrowing. Otherwise such irregularity would be difficult to explain. Perhaps too with an originally more general meaning as seen here.

*šulḡa*: 582 *eta šulḡa lihitaga*. Obviously the same as *šilpoḡa*. A phonetic variant (*šilpoḡa* = *šilyoḡa*, § 31), or merely an error of spelling (?).

*šulpaḡamdha*: Some article that has to be sent.

*šeyita*: § 6.

*šeraka*: 289 and 431-2. A proper name (?).

*šo*: '6', § 89.

*šoṭhaṃga* (and *šoṭhaṃgha*): An official in the royal administration charged with keeping the accounts of taxation and royal property (camels, etc.), 'tax-collector'. Such in general seems to have been the nature of their functions to judge from the allusions which occur. We find individual *šoṭhaṃghas* charged with peculation: 272 *eda masu masuwi šoṭhaṃga draṃghadhare šarve paričhinavitaṃti* 'This wine the *šoṭhaṃgas* belonging to the wine department and the officials have consumed entirely'; 567 *suḡiya viṃṇaveti yatha edaša caturtha varša huda šoṭhaṃgha huda, goṭhaṃmi suṭha vinaṭhaḡa, iša masuwi draṃgaṃmi gaṃnana kiḡae huda, Suḡiya Pḡiṣa šaca dharanaḡa hutaṃti masu šada paṃcaša milima pramana . . . yati eša Suḡiya goṭhami vinaṭhaḡa siyati, eša Suḡiya šoṭhaṃga dhaṃade nikhalidavya, aṃṇiṣa šoṭhaṃga kartavya, yo masu rayaka masu masuwi draṃgami dharanaḡa hutaṃti, taha se masu Suḡiya Pḡiṣa šaca viyošidavya, puranaḡa masu saṃgalidavo, yo navaḡa masu-vanṃmi Suḡiyaṣa nasti karya, aṃṇiṣa šoṭhaṃgana saṃgalidavya* 'Suḡiya says that this is the fourth year that he has been a *šoṭhaṃga*; he has lost a lot on the farm. Here in the wine office



a reckoning has been made. Suḡiya and Pḡisa owe 150 *milima* of wine. . . . If this Suḡiya has lost it on the farm, he must be removed from the duty of *ṣoṭhamga*. Another person must be made *ṣoṭhamga*. The wine, royal wine that they owe to the wine department, this wine Suḡiya and Pḡisa must pay: the old wine is to be collected, as regards the new wine Suḡiya has nothing to do with it, it is to be collected by the other *ṣoṭhamgas*. From this it is quite clear that the *ṣoṭhamgas* were engaged in collecting commodities, wine, etc., paid as tax: also that they were appointed by the local *cojhbo*, the letter being addressed to *cojhbo* Somjaka.

The office was nearly related to that of *divira* 'scribe'. The *divira* Ramṣotsa is also referred to as *ṣoṭhamgha* Ramṣotsa. In 520 Suḡiya is said to hold two offices, that of *ṣoṭhamgha*, and that of scribe. The *divira* Moḡiya (598) is son of the *ṣoṭhamgha* Moteḡa. The *divira* Vuḡaca (507) is son of the *ṣoṭhamgha* Luṭhu. The *ṣoṭhamgha* Karṣjaka (182) is said to be in charge of the royal camels. *ṣoṭhamghas* are charged with conducting camels to the king (341). They were charged with making payments from the royal treasury. Letters are addressed to the *ṣoṭhamgha* Lṣipeya to make provision for envoys to Khotan (14, 135), to pay a woman's wages (19), in connection with the appointing of officials (435), etc. The word occurs in Toch. A. as *ṣoṭānkān* 'tax-collectors' (cf. H. W. Bailey, *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 905).

*ṣodhama*: 'sixth', § 89.

*ṣḡabhanae*: *skabh-*, § 49.

*ṣvaṭhamga*: § 7.

## S

*sa*: § 90.

*samgalitaga*: (*samgalitavo*, *samgh-*, etc.). = 'collect'; Skt. *samkalayati*, § 46.

*sagaji*: § 1.

*sa ca*: (1) § 122. Meaning 'and'. Possibly = Vedic *sacā* 'with', although the writers seem to have regarded it as the genitive termination with *-ca*. At any rate they occasionally wrote *-asya ca* instead: 561 *amklatsa putḡetsa odarasya ca* (three different kinds of camel: subject of the sentence).

(2) An introductory particle appearing at the head of messages in letters, e.g. 1 (and *passim*) *mahanuava maharaya lihati, cojhbo Tanjakasa matra deti, saca* . . . 'The great king writes, he gives instruction to the *cojhbo* Tanjaka, namely . . .'. In private letters after the introductory formulas the contents of the message are introduced by *evam ca vimati, saca* . . . (288) 'And thus is the message, namely . . .' or more often *evam ca, saca* . . .

*sacadhamastidaṣa*: Title of king Arḡgoka. = *satyadharmasthita* 'abiding in the true law'.

*samcaya*: = *samśaya* 'doubt', § 48.

*Sacyami*: Miswritten for *Sacammi*, § 41.

**sačhi:** 'witness'; declension of, §§ 60, 70.

**saṃcchitena:** = *saṃkṣiptena* 'in brief'.

**sajavanae:** 'to make ready', § 103.

**sajeyati:** Optative, § 100. Only used in the phrase *ko pačima kalaṃmi vedeyati codeyati sajeyati*, a formula referring to bringing a question before the law and finding fault with an agreement already made. In its place we find in 661 *yo pacema kali...cudiyadi vidiyadi vivadu uthaviyadi*. It is not clear how the meaning can be connected with Skt. *sajyati* 'cling'.

**saṃña:** = *sañña*-, § 44. Usually in the phrase *tanu saṃña janidavo*, e.g. 585 *asmabhi kilmeci avasa jheniga hotu tanu saṃña janidavo* 'The people belonging to our *kilme* must certainly be under your care, they are to be recognised as your own'. Either the phrase is to be regarded as a Bv. compound *tanusañña*-, something like 'characterised as one's own', or more probably *tatpurusa* = *tanusañña jñātavyā* 'an idea that they are your own is to be recognised', because in 331 *tanu* and *saṃña* are separated: *yatha tanu dita saṃña janidavo*.

**saṃta:** § 101.

**satriśa:** 209, may be *sadria* 'a penalty equal for both parties'.

**saṃdena:** 475 *sarva saṃdena arogemī* 'I am well with all that belongs to me'.

**sadha:** 'with', §§ 22, 37, 92.

**saṃdhiṣečhyama:** 702. Quite obscure; probably something has been miswritten.

**sapiṇḍa:** 71. = 'owned in common'.

**saṃprajaya:** 399 *saṃprajaya kartavya kufala kartavya brahmacariṣa*. The letter closes with formulas from the Buddhist religion, naturally in a different style and language from that of the ordinary documents. Obviously *saṃprajānya*- is meant, Pali *sampajāñña* 'care, attention, circumspection'. The treatment of *ny* is unexpected.

**sampreṣeyati:** § 6.

**saṃbāṃdhamma:** *mitra saṃbāṃdhamma*. Written for *saṃbadhama* 'We have formed a friendship'. On the insertion of *anusvāra* where it does not belong, cf. § 47.

**samao:** 'with', §§ 22, 92.

**samaya:** 'agreement, contract'.

**samarena:** 164. An official designation parallel with *tsaṃghina* and *kvemaṇḍhina*. In 387 *samarenaṃmi* is given as an alternative reading for *samasenaṃmi* in the text. There, likewise, the term is used in connection with taxation.

**samaho:** = *samao*, §§ 28, 92.

**samuha:** §§ 27, 90.

**saṃrhae:** § 5.

**saṃme:** 149, 617. An abbreviation for *saṃvatsare*.

**samovada:** 'agreement'.

**sarachidati**: = *sarajitaṃti*, § 27.

**sarajitaṃti**: = *saṃrañji*-, § 47.

**sargita**: 47 *edaṣa goṭha grhavaṣa Apḡeyena udaḡena sargita* 'His farm and house were flooded with water by Apḡeya'; from  $\sqrt{srg}$ , *sarga*-.  
 sarva: Declension of, § 88.

**sarvabhavana**: § 90.

**sarvaṣu**: Only 422: *sarvaṣu Ajiyama avanaṃnci kilme uthidati*...  
 Obscure.

**sarvaṣaṃ**: 326 *Kaṃaya ni goṭha grhavaṣa bhumaḡhetra sarvaṣaṃ tena samao*. Read *sarvaṣaṃtena* as one word. 'K.'s farm, house, land along with everything that is his'; cf. s.v. *saṃdena*. For *sarvasanta*- in the sense of 'all one's belongings', cf. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 439, l. 30.

**sarva śpara**: See s.v. *śpara*.

**sarvina**: Gen. Plural, § 88.

**sali**: *syāla*- 'brother-in-law', § 41.

**saṃvatsare**: § 58.

**saṃśaya**: See *vera saṃśaya*.

**sasteyaṃmi**: = 'divasaṃmi', cf. *sastehi* below.

**sastehi**: Same as *sasteyaṃmi*. It occurs also in three Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from N.W. India (C.I.I. vol. II, Index). Konow (*ib.* p. 152) explains it as a participle *sasta*- from Iranian *sad*- 'to shine'. The word is not known to occur in this sense in any Iranian dialect that is preserved, but the development of meaning is quite natural; cf. N.Pers. *rōz* from *ruč*- 'to shine'. More difficult to explain is the termination *-hi*. It is less common than *-eyaṃmi*. Since it is the only form that occurs in the (older) inscriptions from India, it is no doubt the original form, while *sasteyaṃmi* represents the analogical introduction of the usual termination of the locative singular. Konow (*loc. cit.*) explains it as instrumental plural, but the syntax is by no means clear.

**sahasrahani**: §§ 28, 61.

**sahini**: Epithet of *bhija* 'seed', differentiating it from *juṭhi*, which is equally obscure (see s.v.): 291 *sā aṃna cavala saṃgalitavo, dui bhaga juṭhi, eka bhaga sahini, uṭa 20 20 tre tre milima nadha kartavo* 'That corn is to be quickly collected, two parts *juṭhi*, one part *sahini*. Forty camels are to be loaded with 3 *milima* each'; 387 *bhuma vikrida bhija sahini vajo khi 4 3* 'He sold land with a capacity for 7 *khi* of *sahini* seed'.

**sānapru**: 660 (also *sanapru*). Some article consisting of cloth.

**śikhi**: Epithet of *aṃna* 'corn', 532. Meaning unknown.

**śigataṃmi**: § 67.

**siṃgha**: § 47.

**sidalavaṃna**: 109. Apparently *siddhalavaṇa*-, meaning some kind of salt. Something corresponding to *sindhu*- or *saindhava*-<sup>10</sup> would be more familiar. Saka has *sidaluṃ* translating *saindhova* which is obviously derived from our word.

**sima**: § 67.

**simici**: § 77.

**siyati**: § 42.

**sira**: Only 140 *si*<sup>o</sup> 3. Some article.

**sukri**: Only 74. Epithet of *uṣa* 'camel'.

**suji na kirta**: Only 318 in a list of objects; Lüders (*Textilien*, p. 31) points out that this word = N.Pers. *sōzankard*. Ar. lw. *sūsānjird* 'embroidery', 'needlework'.

**suṭha**: = *suṣṭhu* 'very'. The form must correspond to something like \**suṣṭham*.

**suḍa**: or *sutra*; reading uncertain. Epithet of *muli* 'price', e.g. 590 *aṃṇa sutra muli giḍa* 4 4; 480 *aṃṇa atḡa suḍa muli giḍa aṃṇa milima 1 khi* 10 (see also *atḡa*). In 714 without *muli* in a list of things sent as tax: ... *croṃa*, *aṃṇa suḍa ekamaṃṭa*... The meaning is quite obscure.

**suḍi**: = (?) 566. *suḍi karna baṃḍhana*.

**suḍe**: 107. Epithet of *draṃḡadhare* 'officials'.

**sudha**: = 'only', § 91. The etymology is not clear.

**Supiye**: Name of a hostile people always mentioned as engaged in marauding activities, carrying off animals (212) and men (324, 491). They are mentioned as attacking Calmadana (= Cercen) 119, 324, 722, Caḍota 183. There was a garrison at Sāca (Endere) to watch out for them, 133, 578. The *cojhbō* Sarṃjaka at Caḍota was not strong enough to oppose them in the field, and locked himself and the inhabitants within the city walls, until they went away. The desert on the north and Khotan in the west being excluded, they must have been tribes in the Kun-Lun mountains to the south-east of that strip of the Shan-Shan kingdom which ran up through Cercen to Niya. In the Saka text published by Leumann (E xvi. 9) they are mentioned as Supīya (which shows that the *i* was long), along with Huns and other invaders who attacked the Kingdom of Khotan. Cf. further Prof. Thomas in *Acta Or.* xii, 54 ff. and *Tib. Texts and Docs.* pp. 78 and 156.

**sumirṃna**: 'dream', 151.

**Sulīḡa**: Either = 'inhabitant of Kashghar' as Prof. Thomas suggests, or possibly 'Sogdian'. On the form, cf. Gauthiot, *Grammaire Sogdienne*, I, p. vi.

**suvēṭha**: (also *suvēṣṭa*). A title. Nothing very definite about their sphere of activity is to be learned. The *suvēṭha* Khosa goes on an embassy to Khotan (362). *Suvēṭhas* act as judges along with *ogus*, *cojhbos*, etc. (506, 709). About nine are mentioned.

**suśaḡa**: 215. Some class of individuals: *treya suśaḡa eka eka potaḡa giḍaṃti* 'The three s's took one young animal each'. Another possible reading is *vuryaḡa* (see s.v.). The word appears as *sufaḡa* in 387 *sufaḡa rajadhamā kareṃti*. 'Informer' (*sūcaka*)?

**suṣmela**: = Skt. *sūkṣmela*, a particular kind of spice ('cardamoms'). On the treatment of *kṣ*, cf. § 48.

**suha**: = 'well', §§ 27, 91.

se: = *sa*, §§ 12, 22, 80.

seniye: 'soldiers', § 60.

so: = *sa*, § 80.

sokhalīga: 665 *sokhalīga sarthaṣa* 'The *sokhalīga* caravan'. Name of a place (?).

soṃgha: Occurs twice. 637 *aṃṇa, kāḷaṣa padamulāde varṣa* 'varṣi *rajadhareyana soṃgha praṣavitaḡa* 'Another thing, *soṃgha* was granted year by year from the feet of the *kala* to the employees of the state'; 604 *yaṃ kala Ramakaṣa ṣitiyaṃmi Caṣḡeya soṃgha anita* 'When Caṣḡeya brought *soṃgha* to the side of (? cf. *ṣitiyaṃmi*) *Ramaka*'.

sotira: Apparently a title. 580 *saḥhi divira Apḡeya saḥhi sotira tasuca Catata* 'The scribe Apḡeya was a witness, the *sotira tasuca* Catata was a witness'. Possibly an adaptation of the Gk. *σωτήρ*.

soṃstaṃni: 149. Some article. Probably some piece of apparel because it is mentioned between *kaṃculi* 'girdle' and *kayabaṃdhana*.

stasyati: §§ 41, 99.

stora: = Av. *staora-*, Pahl. *stōr*, N.Pers. *sutūr* 'a large animal' (camel or horse) or simply 'horse'. In 13 *vaḡavi storam ca*, it obviously means 'horse'. In 164 *sada storena, jaṃna samaho*, it means 'animals' as opposed to *jaṃna* 'people'.

storavara: 'riding on a *stora*'. Iranian *-bāra* as in O.Pers. *asabāra-*, etc. Formed with the same suffix are also *aṣpavara, uṭavara*, and possibly *Pursavara* (a proper name). In Skt. *aśvavāra* (Epic.).

stovaṃna: Only 399 *tasmārtha eta stovaṃna atra viḡajita uta prichamṇaye, yahi eṣa stovaṃna atra eṣati, lekha vacitu, toṃi stovaṃnaṣa haste uṭa iṣa prahadavya* 'Therefore this *stovaṃna* has been sent there to demand a camel, when this *stovaṃna* comes there, having read the letter, a camel is to be dispatched in the hand of the *stovaṃna*'. It is either a proper name, or the name of a particular kind of official that might be used for the purpose.

stri: Declension of, § 68.

Spaniyakā: 661. Iranian name (?), cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 515. (Av. *spanyah-* 'more holy', Pahl. *spēnāk*.)

spāra: (also *spūra*). = 'completely'. More often in the phrase *sarva spāra (spūra)* 'all complete': 272 *praṭha cavala paruvārṣi ṣuka masu, ima varṣi masu sarva spāra saṃgalidavya* 'Forthwith last year's dry grapes (?) and this year's grapes are to be quickly collected all completely'. An Iranian word. Saka *uṣpurra-*, Arm.L.W. *spaṛ*, Pahl. *(u)spurr*, *(u)spurrik*, N.Pers. *siparī*, cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 787.

spārna: = *suvarṇa*, § 49.

spāṣa: 'watch, watching, guard'. Whence *spāṣavaṃna* 'guard, watchman'. Iranian \**spāsa* and \**spāsapāna* (cf. Sogd. *sp*'s 'service', N.Pers. *sipās* 'thanks', both of which have lost the original meaning). The word is discussed in *B.S.O.S.* VII, 512. Cf. § 49. Cf. further Saka *spāṣaṇa* (H. W. Bailey, *Z.D.M.G.* 1936, p. 576).

*spura*: Cf. *spara*.

*spētha*: Cf. *suveṭha* and § 49.

*spora*: = *spura*, probably to be read so. Cf. *prochidavo* for *pruchidavo*, etc. and § 4.

*Syabala*: = *Sīhabala*-, § 28.

*sruva*: 509. Also *surva*, 524. Only in the phrase *rayaka sruva* (*surva*) *tomga*, indicating some kind of employment in the royal service (cf. s.v. *tomga*).

*svachamptaḡa*: 639. = 'of their own accord' (*sva-chandas*-). The feminine is *svachamdi* at 555.

*svachimna*: 211. = (?).

*svaya*: §§ 6, 49, 86.

*svasavarnniye*: 471. Cf. *spasavamma*.

*sve*: = *svayam*, §§ 6, 86.

*sveta*: 72. . . . *priya sveta Kamcaḡa* . . . seems to indicate some kind of relationship. The same document contains *apru* (see s.v.), which also apparently is a noun of relationship. Neither word appears anywhere else.

## H

*hačhati*: Is used both for *siyati* and *bhaviṣyati*, cf. §§ 4, 99, 100. The optative sense is the more usual. The word = Pkt. *acchai*. The *h*-no doubt is from *huda*, *hodi*, *hotu*, etc. Cf. Prof. R. L. Turner in *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 795 ff.

*hargā*: = 'tax', or some particular kind of tax. The most usual word for tax is *palḡi*. The word is Iranian. The Arm.L.W. *hark* corresponds most closely to it. A different form of the same base is represented by Ar. and N.Pers. *xarāḡ*. For a full discussion, cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 788.

*hali*: Obscure; only 83 *ma imci eda hali kariṣyasi*.

*haṣḡa*: Word of uncertain meaning: occurs in the phrase *haṣḡa nikhaleti* (297, 751) 'to remove, take out, a *haṣḡa*'; 297 *haṣḡa nikhaleti, yatha purva dhamā haṣḡa iṣa rayadvarammi ativahidavo* 'He takes out the *haṣḡa* . . . according to the former land the *haṣḡa* is to be sent over here to the king's court'.

In 542 we have *haṣḡadana* in the sentence: *yatha stri Kaciyaē prace, haṣḡadana prace edeṣa vaṃti parihaṣaṃti, eda stri hastagada kareṃti* ' . . . that concerning a woman Kaci, concerning the giving of the *haṣḡa*, they make a claim against (?) him, and take hold of this woman'.

*hastama*: § 45. = 'dispute'. Same as *vivada*. Iranian word *ha(m)-stamba*-. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 788.

*hiḡiteya*: 399. The reading is not certain, but the context demands something corresponding to Skt. *hṛdaya*; a form *hiḡeya* would perhaps be all right.

*hinajhasya*: Title of Avijita Siṃha king of Khotan, 661. Iranian \**hīnāsa* = σιρνήσος, cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 514, and Konow, *Acta Or.* XIV, 231 ff. The word appears as *hīnāysā* in Saka (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 791).

**huḍiyami:** §§ 5, 27. From *bhṛti*-. Only 703 *ṣarira huḍiyami osugā avajidavo* 'Care is to be exercised in the maintenance of your body'.

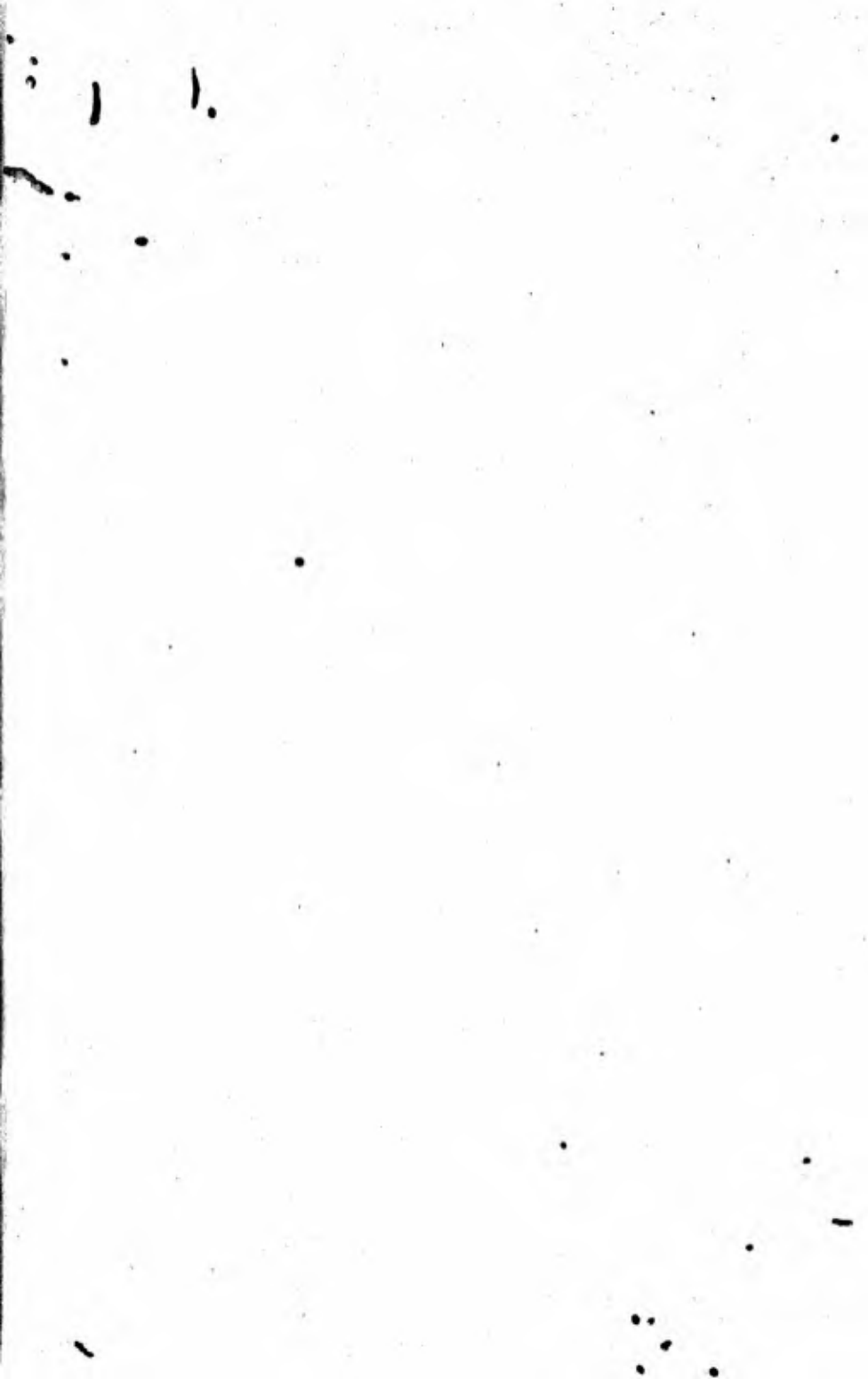
**heḍi:** § 28. = *edā* 'sheep' (?).

**hetuṣena:** §§ 29, 71.

**hoati:** § 96.

**hotu:** § 98.

**hora:** An alternative reading for *huve* in 100. Both obscure.







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